

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY

CLASS 35-92
CALL No. 954.0236 Ser

D.G.A. 79.





5. J. Valpade

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB

Vol. I.

Works by Jadunath Sarkar, M.A.

- | | Rs. |
|---|----------|
| 1. <i>History of Aurangzib</i> , based on Persian sources. | |
| Vol. I. Reign of Shah Jahan, pp. 402. | |
| Vol. II. War of Succession, pp. 328. | 3½ each. |
| 2. <i>Anecdotes of Aurangzib</i> (English translation and notes) and <i>Historical Essays</i> , pp. 248 | 1½ |
| 3. <i>Ahkam-i-Alamgiri</i> , Persian text with an English translation (<i>Anecdotes of Aurangzib</i>) and notes, pp. 72 + 146 ... | 1 |
| 4. <i>Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings</i> , being an English translation of his contemporary biography, <i>Chaitanya Charitamrita</i> , Madhya-lila, pp. 320 + ... | 2 |
| 5. <i>India of Aurangzib : Statistics, Topography and Roads</i> , with translations from the <i>Khulasat-ut-tawarikh</i> and the <i>Chahar Gulshan</i> . (Not a history), pp. 300 ... | 2½ |
| 6. <i>Economics of British India</i> , 3rd ed., pp. 300 + (In preparation) ... | 3 |
| 7. <i>Essays, Social and Literary</i> , by Ravindranath Tagore, translated into English (In preparation). | |

SOLD BY

M. C. Sarkar & Sons, 75 Harrison Road, Calcutta.
 S. K. Lahiri & Co., 56 College Str., Calcutta.
 G. A. Natesan, 3 Shunkurama Chetti Str., Madras.
 D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 103 Medows Str., Bombay.
 LUTZAC & Co., 46 Great Russell Str., LONDON.

HISTORY OF AURANGZIB

Mainly based on Persian Sources.

JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A.,

Professor, Patna College.

3882

Vol. I.

Reign of Shah Jahan.



M. C. SARKAR & SONS,

75, HARRISON ROAD,

CALCUTTA.

1912.

5s. net.

Rs. 3. 8 as.

KUNTALINE PRESS.

PRINTED BY PURNA CHANDRA DASS,
61 & 62, BOWBAZAR STREET, CALCUTTA.
PUBLISHED BY M. C. SARKAR & SONS,
75, HARRISON ROAD, CALCUTTA.

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY, NEW DELHI.

Vol. No. 3592
14. 10. 55
Call No. 954.0236/Sar

CONTENTS.

Introduction.

Fullest expansion of Mughal empire under Aurangzib, xi—commencing decline, xii—rise of Marathas, Sikhs, and European trading companies, xii—administrative breakdown in Aurangzib's last years, xiv—its causes, xv—materials of his history : official annals or *namahs*, xv—private histories written by officers, xvi—two histories by Hindus, xvii—monographs, xviii—Court bulletins, xix—contemporary letters, xix—European travellers : their value criticised, xxi—thanks for help, xxiii—spelling and dates xxvi.

Chapter I. Boyhood and Education.

Birth, 1—life during Jahangir's reign, 3—education, 4—knowledge of languages, 5—hand writing, 5—favourite studies, 7—intellectual tastes, 8—fights a furious elephant, 9—scorn of death, 11—reward, 12—first military appointment, 13.

Chapter II. The Bundela War.

Bundelkhand and its ruling clan, 14—Bir Singh Dev, 15—Jhujhar Singh subdued, 17—captures Chauragarh, 18—Mughal armies sent against him under Aurangzib, 19—capture of Urchha, 22—of Dhamuni, 23—Jhujhar pursued, 24—murdered, 25—fate of his wives and children, 27—spoils of war, 28—Urchha temple turned into mosque, 29—later Bundela resistance, 30.

Chapter III. First Viceroyalty of the Deccan.

Conquests under Akbar, 32—pause under Jahangir, 33—Shah Jahan extinguishes Ahmadnagar dynasty, 34—prepares to invade Bijapur and Golkonda, 35—Golkonda sub-

mits, 36—Bijapur territory ravaged, 37—peace with Bijapur : its terms, 38—treaty with Golkonda, 41—extent of Mughal Deccan : its four provinces, 42—capture of Udgir fort, 44—of Ausa, 46—Shahji Bhonsla submits, 46—exactions from the Gond rajahs, 49—Baglana, 50—invaded, 52—annexed, 53—Kheloji Bhonsla slain, 54.

Chapter IV. Marriage and Family—Viceroyalty of Guzerat.

Persian princes in India, 57—marry into the Mughal imperial family, 57—Aurangzib married to Dilras Banu, 58—the procession, 59—his wives : Nawab Bai, 61—Udai-puri, 64—Zainabadi, 65—how won, 66—his children : Zebunnissa, 68—others, 70—Jahanara burnt, 73—recovers, 75—Aurangzib's dismissal, 76—its cause, 77—he is reinstated, 79—Guzerat : the land and the people, 80—his strong rule, 81.

Chapter V. War in Central Asia.

Badakhshan and Balkh, 83—their peoples, 85—Uzbaks and Tartars, 86—Nazar Muhammad, king of Balkh, 89—Shah Jahan wishes to conquer Central Asia, 90—folly of the attempt, 91—Badakhshan invaded, 92—Balkh occupied, 93—arrangements for holding them, 95—Aurangzib appointed viceroy, 97—the opposed forces, 97—his march on Balkh, 99—advance to Aqcha, 101—incessant fighting 102—retreat to Balkh, 104—hardships on the way, 105—his cool courage, 106—peace negotiations, 107—Mughal army evacuates Balkh, 110—sufferings during retreat, 111—losses, 112.

Chapter VI. Governorship of Multan and Sindh.

Aurangzib sent to Multan, 114—his promotions, 115—his letters as preserved in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 116—their historical importance, 117—lawless people of the province,

118—the Hot tribe controlled, 119—the Nohani tribe, 121—expedition into Baluchistan, 121—order maintained, 123—a new port opened, 124.

Chapter VII. First siege of Qandahar.

Qandahar district described, 126—its strategic importance 128—commercial importance, 129—past history, 130—Persians besiege Qandahar fort, 132—treachery among the garrison, 135—fort surrenders, 136—incapacity of the Indian commandant, 137—Army sent to recover the fort, 138—fort of Qandahar described, 140—Aurangzib besieges it, 143—his weakness in artillery, 145—Persians defeated by Rustam Khan, 147—retreat of Indian army, 148—losses, 149.

Chapter VIII. Second Siege of Qandahar.

Aurangzib sent with a second army, 150—begins the siege, 152—night attack on Qaitul hill fails, 154—bad gunnery of the Indians, 157—failure to breach, 158—Persian losses, 160—siege abandoned, 161—Uzbek raid, 162—bitter correspondence between Shah Jahan and Aurangzib, 163—causes of the failure, 164—Mughal losses in money and men, 167—loss of military prestige, 168.

Chapter IX. Second Viceroyalty of the Deccan.

Aurangzib goes to the Deccan, 170—his life there, 171—religious bigotry, 173—Aurangabad city described, 174—administrative confusion in the Deccan, 176—its causes, 177—chronic deficit, 179—Aurangzib's financial difficulties, 182—no help from Shah Jahan, 185—wrangle between Emperor and viceroy, 186—Murshid Quli Khan, *diwan* of the Deccan, 189—his revenue system, 191—Aurangzib's protection of his officers, 195—increase of efficiency in garrison artillery, 197—causes of Aurangzib's differences with Shah Jahan, 199—Minor expeditions: Gond kingdom

of Deogarh, 205—tribute exacted, 208—invasion of Jawhar, 209.

Chapter X. Invasion of Golkonda.

Golkonda: its wealth, 211—friction with the Mughal government, 212—Karnatak conquered by Deccani sultans, 214—Mir Jumla: his career and conquests, 216—jealousy of Qutb Shah, 219—Mir Jumla's intrigues, 220—with Aurangzib, 222—his family imprisoned at Haidarabad, 225—Shah Jahan orders their release, 228—Aurangzib invades Golkonda, 229—cavalry dash on Haidarabad, 231—plunder, 232—Aurangzib besieges fort of Golkonda, 233—his eagerness to annex the kingdom, 235—Shah Jahan orders peace, 237—terms of the treaty, 240—Aurangzib's quarrel with Shah Jahan about the Golkonda booty, 242—Qutb Shah still clings to Karnatak, 245—Sri Ranga Rayal, last ruler of the Vijaynagar line, hard pressed, 248—how treated by the Mughals, 249—Did Aurangzib capture Haidarabad by treachery? 252.

Chapter XI. War with Bijapur.

Bijapur kingdom: its growth under Muhammad Adil Shah, 253—relations with the Delhi government, 255—succession of Ali Adil Shah II., 259—Aurangzib seduces Bijapur officers, 261—Mughals wish to conquer Bijapur, 262—Aurangzib begins the invasion, 264—siege of Bidar, 265—carried by assault, 267—detachment under Mahabat Khan, 269—battle, 270—siege of Kaliani, 271—battle, 272—another battle, 274—Mughal detachment penetrates to Kulbarga, 276—fall of Kaliani, 277—terms of peace with Bijapur, 278—Mughal retreat, 280—Shivaji: his negotiations, 281—his raids, 282—how checked by Aurangzib, 282—Shivaji makes peace, 284—Parentage of Ali Adil Shah II., 285—Was Jan Muhammad corrupted by Aurangzib? 286.

Chapter XII. Illness of Shah Jahan.

Shah Jahan's long reign, 290—its glories, 291—happiness of the people, 292—Dara Shukoh: his influence, 294—his theological studies, 296—not a heretic from Islam, 298—his character, 299—Shah Jahan falls ill, 302—removes to Agra, 304—Dara's devoted attendance, 305—Dara nominated as successor, 306—tries to strengthen his own position, 307—armies sent against his brothers, 308—Aurangzib's doings, 311—Dara stops the sending of news from Court, 312—alarm and confusion in the provinces, 313—Shuja and Murad crown themselves, 315—and march on Agra, 317.

Chapter XIII. Murad crowns himself.

Murad Bakhsh: his character, 318—his wazir Ali Naqi, 320—is murdered on suspicion, 321—Murad sends an army against Surat, 323—siege of Surat, 324—booty at Surat, 325—Murad corresponds with Aurangzib for an alliance, 327—Murad proclaims himself Emperor, 329—chooses a stronghold to shelter his family in, 331—Murad's impatient ambition and Aurangzib's cautiousness, 332—intrigue with Persia, 333—partition of empire between Murad and Aurangzib, 335—sworn to by Aurangzib, 337—Murad starts, 338—and joins Aurangzib near Divalpur, 339.

Chapter XIV. Aurangzib advances from the Deccan.

Aurangzib's anxiety and uncertainty, 340—his critical position in the Deccan, 341—his dilemma: to attend to Bijapur or to Delhi? 342—his policy, 344—sends Mir Jumla towards Parenda, 345—retreats from Kaliani and Bidar, 346—death of his wife Dilras Banu, 348—waits for news of Court, 349—despairs of getting the treaty concessions from Bijapur, 351—various devices tried, 352—Mir Jumla

returns baffled, 354—Aurangzib's preparations for disputing the throne, 355—conflicting news from Delhi, and Aurangzib's distraction, 356—his letter to Mir Jumla in cypher, 357—a waiting policy, 358—Aurangzib summons Mir Jumla and collusively arrests him, 361—Aurangzib's dealings with Qutb Shah, 364—conciliation of Qutb Shah, 365—dealings with Bijapur, 366—large concessions now promised to Adil Shah, 367—Aurangzib's financial resources, 368*n*—his intrigue with nobles at Court, 369—his military preparations completed, 370—his able officers, 371—his arrangements for Mughal Deccan, 372—Aurangzib marches from Aurangabad, 374—halts at Burhanpur, 374—imprisons Shah Nawaz Khan, 375—crosses the Narmada and joins Murad, 376.

INTRODUCTION.

The history of Aurangzib is practically the history of India for sixty years. His own reign (1658—1707) covers the second half of the seventeenth century and stands forth as a most important epoch in the annals of our country. Under him the Mughal empire reached its greatest extent, and the largest single State ever known in India from the dawn of history to the rise of the British power was formed. From Ghazni to Chatgaon, from Kashmir to the Karnatak, the continent of India obeyed one sceptre; and beyond this region, in far-off Ladak and Malabar, the suzerainty of the same ruler was proclaimed from the pulpit. Islam made its last onward movement in India in this reign.

The empire thus formed, while unprecedented in size, was also one political unit. Its parts were governed not by the mediation of sub-kings, but directly by the servants of the Crown. Herein Aurangzib's Indian empire was vaster than that of Asoka, or Samudra-gupta or Harshavardhan. No provincial governor had as yet set up his own rule and withheld revenue and obedience from the central power. There were rebellions here and there, but no other crowned

head raised itself to defy the Emperor of Delhi even in any province.

But the reign that saw the formation of the greatest Indian empire of pre-British days, witnessed also unmistakable signs of its commencing decline and disruption. Long before Nadir Shah the Persian or Ahmad Shah the Afghan proved the Padishah to be an impotent shadow of royalty and Delhi the mere memory of past greatness, long before the Maratha confederacy hid beneath its super-imposed sway the regular monarchy of the land,—even before Aurangzib closed his eyes, the Mughal empire had turned bankrupt in finance and prestige, the administration had broken down, the Imperial power had confessed its failure to maintain order and hold this vast realm together.

The reign of Aurangzib is also marked by the upspringing of the Maratha nationality out of the ashes of their short-lived kingship, and by the appearance of the Sikh sect in the role of warriors and armed opponents of the ruling power. Thus the supreme factors of Indian politics in the 18th and early 19th centuries owe their origin to Aurangzib's reign and policy. In the Deccan, after *kings* like Adil Shah and Qutb Shah, Sambhaji and Rajah Ram, had bowed low before the Mughal blast, the *people*

asserted themselves and drove back the spoiler from the North. To the Marathas, alone among the Indian peoples, belongs the glory of giving the first successful check to the onward advance of the Mughal power and saving their fatherland from foreign encroachment. Their development into conquerors and raiders belongs to the next age.

In the very reign in which the Mughal crescent rounded to fulness and then began to wane visibly, the first glow of a new dawn was distinctly seen in our political sky. The future lords of our country's destiny gained a firm and safe footing on its soil. Madras and Bombay became presidencies of the English East India Company in 1653 and 1687 respectively; Calcutta was founded in 1690. The shelter thus secured to the Europeans formed a dominion within a dominion, and was fortified to defy the greatest onslaughts of the "country powers." The "merchant adventurers" here began their first experiments in Oriental government and legislation,—experiments which were destined in the fulness of time to result in an empire larger than that of the Romans and more populous than that of Charles V., and a civilised and progressive administration to which the world, ancient or modern, affords no parallel.

The end of the seventeenth century reveals the Mughal empire as rotten at the core. The grand edifice which Akbar had built up and Shah Jahan and Aurangzib had extended, still looked fair as before, but it was ready to tumble down like a house of cards at the first touch of the foreign invader's lance. The Treasury was empty. The Imperial army knew itself defeated and recoiled from its foes. The centrifugal forces were asserting themselves successfully, and the empire was ready for disruption. The moral weakness of the empire was even greater than the material: the Government no longer commanded the awe of its subjects; the public servants had lost honesty and efficiency; ministers and princes alike lacked statesmanship and ability; the army broke down as an instrument of force. In letter after letter the aged Aurangzib mourns over the utter incapacity of his officers and sons and chastises them with his sharp pen, but in despair of a remedy. Contemporaries like Bhimsen and Khafi Khan, sadly contrast the misery and degradation of the nobles and the people alike in Aurangzib's closing years with the glory of the empire under his forefathers, and wonder why it was so.

Why was it so? The ruler was free from vice, stupidity, or sloth. His intellectual keenness

was proverbial, and at the same time he took to the business of governing with all the ardour which men usually display in the pursuit of pleasure. In industry and attention to public affairs he could not be surpassed by any clerk. His patience and perseverance were as remarkable as his love of discipline and order. In private life he was simple and abstemious like a hermit. He faced the privations of a campaign or a forced march as uncomplainingly as the most seasoned private. No terror could daunt his heart, no weakness or pity melt it. Of the wisdom of the ancients which can be gathered from ethical books, he was a master. He had, besides, undergone a long and successful probation in war and diplomacy in his father's lifetime.

And yet the result of fifty years' rule by such a sovereign was failure and chaos! The cause of this political paradox is to be found in Aurangzib's policy and conduct. Hence his reign is an object of supreme interest to the student of political philosophy no less than to the student of Indian history.

Happily, the materials for a study of it are abundant in Persian, the literary language of Mughal India. First, we have the official annals, —the *Padishahnamah* (in three sections by three

writers) and the *Alamgirnamah*—which cover the 41 years lying between the accession of Shah Jahan and the tenth year of Aurangzib's reign. These works were written by order, on the basis of the State papers preserved in the Imperial archives, such as official correspondence, despatches, newsletters, treaties and revenue returns. They are rich in dates and topographical details of the utmost value and accuracy, but as they were read to the Emperor and revised by him before presentation to the public, they suppress or belittle all incidents likely to throw discredit on his character or government. For the last forty years of Aurangzib's reign we have the *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, compiled from the same class of official records, but after his death, and hence free from the fulsome flattery and misrepresentation of the former two histories. Unfortunately, this work is very condensed and lacks the fulness and detail of the regular official annals.

Next come a class of private histories, like those of Masum, Aqil Khan, and Khafi Khan. These were written by officials, but, not having been meant for the Emperor's eyes, they supply us with many of the facts suppressed in the court annals, though their dates and names are sometimes inaccurate and their descriptions meagre. They, however, contain many personal

traits and graphic touches which the more formal official histories have excluded. Khafi Khan, who has been mainly relied on by European writers, completed his work twenty-six years after the death of Aurangzib. His history is professedly an abridgement of the Court annals for the entire reign of Shah Jahan and the earlier part of that of Aurangzib, But he begins to speak with personal knowledge from about 1688 and often quotes what he had gathered from his father and his friends, who had witnessed earlier scenes. In the same class must be placed the biographical dictionary of the peers of the Mughal empire, the *Masir-ul-umara*, written in 1780 on the basis of the existing Persian annals, but giving many characteristic anecdotes from tradition and throwing many side-lights on the manners of past generations.

There are even two histories of Aurangzib's reign written by Hindus in the Persian tongue. One is the *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* by Bhimsen Burhanpuri, the business man of Aurangzib's general Dalpat Rao Bundela. This author was an active traveller, with a good eye for topographical details, and a careful recorder of all he saw from Mathura to Malabar. His work is of special value for Deccan affairs, because there he was brought up and spent nearly all his life.

He lived near enough to the Imperial Court to learn facts accurately, but was not so closely connected with it as to be a lying flatterer. The other is the *Fatuhāt-i-Alamgiri* of Isar-das Nagar, who long served the Shaikh-ul-Islam and lived at Pattan in Guzerat. This work is of great importance for Rajput affairs.

Besides these general histories of the reign, we have monographs in Persian touching only particular episodes or personages of the time,—such as Niamat Khan Ali's account of the siege of Golkonda, Shihabuddin Talish's diary of the conquest of Kuch Bihar, Assam, and Chatgaon, the memoirs of Iradat Khan and of some other servants of Bahadur Shah I. which start from the closing years of Aurangzib's reign. Of the two Deccani kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur we have separate histories, which throw light on the dealings of the Mughal Government with them. On the Maratha side there are chronicles (*Bakhars*) of Shivaji, Sambhaji, and Rajah Ram written by their officers and others. Mr. Rajwade is said to have hunted out a number of historical letters of the 17th century in Marathi for inclusion in the *Aitihasik Lekh Sangraha* series.

The Royal Asiatic Society of London has a box of Court bulletins of Aurangzib's time

(*Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Muala*). They are bare skeletons,—dry, extremely brief, and good only for dates. Only a few have been preserved for the first 22 years of the reign, but from the 36th year they are more numerous.

The accounts of Aurangzib's reign now current in India, especially in Urdu, are based on works like the *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*, and the *Tarikh-i-Farah-Bakhsh*, written long after the events and merely reproducing the bazar gossip and popular traditions. Not being based on official records and other contemporary sources of information, their evidence must be rejected wherever they conflict with the earlier and authoritative histories of Aurangzib's reign. These unreliable but picturesque works have inspired Dow's *History of Hindostan* and Stewart's *History of Bengal*, and continue to perpetuate many historical heresies in the popular belief of India.

Most fortunately, for several portions of Aurangzib's reign I have been able to secure the very raw materials of history,—a source of information even more valuable than the contemporary official annals described above. These are the LETTERS of the actors in the political drama of the 17th century, of which nearly three thousand are in my possession. In them we see

events as they happened day by day, and not as they were dressed up afterwards by writers with a purpose. In them we see the actual hopes and fears, plans and opinions of those who made Indian history. To this class belong the letters of Aurangzib (forming many different and bulky collections, to be described in the bibliography), of his father, brothers and sisters (in the *Faiyaz-ul-qawanin*, Lucknow MS.), of Jai Singh (in the *Haft Anjuman*, Benares MS.), of Aurangzib's fourth son Prince Akbar (in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, the *Zahur-ul-insha*, and the *Khatut-i-Shivaji*), of Shah Abbas II. (in a MS. picked up by me in the Lucknow bazar), the Mughal-Maratha correspondence in the *Khatut-i-Shivaji*, and the letters of various officials such as Nur-ul-Hassan, Radandaz Khan, and Lutfullah Khan, besides several miscellaneous collections in the libraries of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the India Office of London, and the Nawab of Rampur. Mr. P. V. Mawji of Bombay has collected some Persian letters addressed to Shivaji and his father, but he has declined to let other scholars use them.

An extremely interesting collection of anecdotes about Aurangzib with many of his sayings and orders on petitions, is the *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, ascribed to Hamiduddin Khan Nimchah, which I have translated as *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*. *

We have a cloud of witnesses,—both professed histories and collections of letters,—for the beginning and the end of Aurangzib's reign ; but the intervening period of nearly thirty years (1667—1696) is comparatively dark. I, however, believe that many other historical letters of these decades can still be discovered in India, especially in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, if my educated countrymen interest themselves in the quest and make it a point to examine the Persian MSS. in private possession with knowledge and care.

The European travellers, Tavernier, Bernier, and Manucci, who visited India in this reign, have left long accounts of the country. Their works are of undoubted value as throwing light on the condition of the people, the state of trade and industry, and the history of the Christian churches in India. Moreover, the criticism of Indian institutions by foreign observers has a freshness and weight all its own. But of the political history of India, apart from the few events in which they took part or which they personally witnessed, their report merely reproduced the bazar rumours and the stories current among the populace, and cannot be set against the evidence of contemporary histories and letters in Persian. Tavernier and Bernier

touch only the beginning of the reign ; the former took most of his facts from Bernier, who, again, was indebted to Manucci for several particulars. The last-named writer's *Storia do Mogor* covers the whole reign ; but he was a run-away lad of poor education when he reached India, and, as is admitted by his able editor, was a credulous listener. He wrote long after most of the events, and from memory ; hence we cannot expect accuracy in his narrative. From their position these foreign travellers had no access to the best sources of information ; the State archives were closed to them. They visited the makers of Indian history only occasionally and as suppliants for favours ; hence they could not derive the oral information which only familiar intercourse with the highest personages in camp and Court could have given them. Finally, their imperfect knowledge of literary Persian prevented them from using the written annals of the time and checking the reports they had received orally. For instance, Manucci's story of how Aurangzib, when travelling slenderly guarded, met with Jai Singh at the head of an army and with great presence of mind hailed him as a friend (*Storia*, i. 320), is proved by the known dates to have been impossible. The official annals are so detailed that any wrong daté in

them clashes with what goes before and after, and can be at once detected. We must accept their dates as against those supplied by the European travellers. Hence, in my narrative, I have not been able to use Bernier and Manucci except to a limited extent, *viz.*, where they supplement the official histories or record the writers' personal experiences.

I cannot place this history before the public without acknowledging the deep debt of gratitude I owe to the late Mr. William Irvine, I.C.S., the author of *the Later Mughals*. He freely lent me his own Persian MSS., took great pains in securing on my behalf permission from European public libraries to take copies of their MSS., and beat down the rates demanded by photographers in London and Paris for mechanically reproducing (by a process called 'rotary bromide print') Persian MSS. for me. In every difficulty and doubt that I have appealed to him, he has given prompt assistance and advice. A certain Indian Nawab has a rare volume of Persian historical letters. I secured his permission to take a copy of it at my expense, and engaged a scribe. But for more than a year the Nawab's officers under various pretexts refused my man access to the MS. At last, in despair I wrote to Mr. Irvine about the case. He wrote to one

of his friends, high in the Civil Service of the U. P., and this gentleman communicated with the Nawab. The owner of the MS. now had it copied *at his own expense*, bound the transcript in silk and morocco, and presented it to Mr. Irvine, who lent it to me as soon as he received it!

Mr. Irvine criticised and emended the first five chapters of this history, as carefully and minutely as if it were his own work. His lamented death has robbed me of the pleasure of presenting these volumes to him; but I am happy that I could show him at least a portion of the book, and I have been heartened in my undertaking by the following cordial appreciation from a critic of his standing and ability:—

“I like the style—from this first impression,—it being a judicious compromise between the over-crowded stiffness of my *Later Mughals* and mere popular, journalese writing,—yet without any sacrifice of exactness.” And again, “I like very much your attention to genealogy and topography and above all your recourse to all modern sources of information—the *Indian Atlas* and modern travellers.”

Dr. C. R. Wilson, the historian of *the Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, who encouraged my historical studies and recommended me, unsolicited, to the Bengal Government for aid, is also beyond the reach of my thanks. The Education Department of Bengal, at his instance, very kindly made a grant of £39 5s. for getting copies of the MSS. I needed from the Bodleian,

the British Museum, and the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris,—the copies to remain in the Imperial Library, Calcutta, as Government property, after I had done with them. The Secretary of State for India has lent me Persian MSS. from the India Office Library on four occasions and the Royal Asiatic Society of London twice, for which priceless help I am deeply indebted to them.

My thanks are due to the authorities of the Khuda Bakhsh Library (Bankipur), the Bodleian, the British Museum, the Cambridge University Library, the Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris), and the Berlin Royal Library, and to H. H. the Nawab of Rampur, Nawab Abdus Salam Khan Bahadur (late Sub-Judge, Oudh), Major Vaman Das Basu, I.M.S. (ret.), and Munshi Shyam Sundar Lal (of Benares), for their enlightened courtesy in allowing me to take copies of certain of their Persian MSS.

Among friends in India who have taken pains for me in securing the permission of owners of MSS. and engaging copyists, I gratefully mention Hafiz Ahmad Ali Khan (Rampur State), Mr. D. N. Mallik (Electrical Engineer) and Mr. Maqbul Alam, B.A., LL.B., (Benares). Nor should I omit the name of my former colleague, Maulvi Abdul Hai, Lecturer, Patna College, to whom I

have gone in every difficulty in interpreting Persian and who gave much of his time to collating the Persian MSS. copied for me.

In the spelling of Eastern words I have followed the Hunterian system, restricting *u* to express the sound of *oo*, except in a very small number of cases (such as *Jumna*, *nullah*, *Calcutta*, &c.) I have also in a few instances (like *Barhamdeo*) refrained from Sanskritising Hindi proper names, in order to avoid too great a departure from the popular pronunciation. All the dates in the Hijera era have been converted to the Christian era according to the *Old Style*.

Two volumes of my history are now placed before the public. A third is expected to be ready in manuscript a year hence. To complete this long reign of 50 years and give some account of the condition of the people, trade, life and manners, two more volumes at least will be needed. I am now on the threshold of my subject and can see its distant end but dimly.

July, 1912.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

*** Chapters I—IX, XI—XV, XIX, XXIII and XXIV were first printed in the *Modern Review* and a portion of Ch. XXV in the *Indian Review*; but they have been thoroughly revised and emended before publication in their present form.

The History of Aurangzib.

CHAPTER I.

BOYHOOD AND EDUCATION, 1618—1634.

Muhiuddin Muhammad Aurangzib, who ascended the throne of Delhi as
Birth. Alamgir I., was the sixth child of Shah Jahan and Mumtaz Mahal, the royal couple who lie buried in the famous Taj Mahal. His grandfather, the Emperor Jahangir, after putting down one of Malik Ambar's attempts to revive the Ahmadnagar kingship, was leisurely making a royal progress from Guzerat to Agra, with Shah Jahan and his family in his train, when at *Dohad*,* on the way to Ujjain, Aurangzib

* Dohad (22°50 N. 74°20 E., *Indian Atlas*, Sheet 36 s. w.) is a subdivision of the Panch Mahal District in the Bombay

was born, in the night of 15th Ziqada, 1027 A.H.* (or, according to European calculation, the night *preceding* Sunday, 24th October, 1618 A.D., Old Style). A few days afterwards when the Imperial Court reached Ujjain, the capital of Malwa, the princely infant's birth was celebrated with befitting splendour.†

Aurangzib cherished an affectionate memory of the place of his birth; we find him in his old age writing to his son Muhammad Azam, "Noble son, the village of Dohad, in the province of Guzerat, is the birth-place of this sinner. Deem it proper to treat its inhabitants with kindness. Conciliate and retain at his post the old man who has been its *faujdar* for a long time past."‡

Shah Jahan was intensely devoted to his wife Mumtaz Mahal, and never in her life parted from her in weal or woe. Wherever he moved, whether marching on a campaign, visiting different provinces, or, in Jahangir's later years, fleeing from his father's wrath through the wilderness of Telingana to Bengal,—his wife always bore him company. Thus, Aurangzib was

Presidency, and the town stands just south of the Dohad Station on the B. B. & C. I. Railway.

* *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* ed. by Syud Ahmud, p. 259.

† *Tuzuk*, p. 251.

‡ *Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*, lithographed ed., No. 31.

born on the return march from the Deccan and Murad Bakhsh* in the fort of Rohtas in South Bihar.

From 1622 till almost the end of his father's reign, Shah Jahan was under a
Aurangzib a hostage for his cloud; the infatuated old Em-
father. . peror, entirely dominated by his selfish and imperious consort Nur Jahan, deprived Shah Jahan of his posts and fiefs, and at last drove him into rebellion in self-defence. But the prince's efforts were in general unsuccessful, and he had to flee by way of Telingana, Orissa and Bengal to Jaunpur and back again to the Deccan by the same wild and terrible route, his wife and children accompanying him. At last he had no help but to submit to his father and give up his young sons, Dara and Aurangzib, as hostages. These two reached Jahangir's Court at Lahore in June 1626,† and remained under the care of Nur Jahan. Shortly afterwards Jahangir died, Shah Jahan ascended the throne, and the two boys were escorted by Asaf Khan to Agra, where a most pathetic scene was acted: their eagerly expectant mother clasped her long lost darlings to her bosom and poured out all her pent up

* *Tuzuk*, 391.

† *Tuzuk*, 380—391, 397, 410. Gladwin, 69—75, 78.

affection for them* (26 February, 1628). Aurangzib's daily allowance was now fixed at Rs. 500.

Thus, at the age of ten he came to a settled life; and arrangements were evidently now made for his regular education. Sadullah Khan, who rose to be the best reputed of Shah Jahan's *wazirs*, is said† to have been one of his teachers. Another teacher was Mir Muhammad Hashim of Gilan, who after a study of twelve years at Mecca and Medina came to India, learnt medicine under Hakim Ali Gilani, and kept a famous school at Ahmadabad, where he was afterwards made Civil Judge (*Sadr*). As Aurangzib's tutor he remained in the Prince's service till the end of Shah Jahan's reign.‡ Bernier§ speaks of Mulla Salih as his old teacher, but the Persian histories do not bear this statement out. Of one Mulla Salih Badakhshani|| we read that he was a scholar of Balkh and had his first audience of Shah Jahan on 4th January, 1647, when Aurangzib was already 29 years of age,—too old to go to school.

* Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, I.A. 70, 97, 177.

† Hamiduddin's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, Ir. MS. 23a. But Sadullah entered Shah Jahan's service in Dec. 1640. (*Pad.* ii. 220).

‡ *Padishahnamah*, I. B. 345.

§ *Bernier's Travels*, ed. by Constable, p. 154.

|| *Padishahnamah*, ii. 624.

That Aurangzib had a natural keenness of mind and quickly learnt what he read, we can readily believe. Knowledge of languages.

His correspondence proves that he had thoroughly mastered the *Quran* and the *Traditional Sayings of Muhammad (Hadis)*, and was ever ready with apt quotations from them. He spoke and wrote Arabic and Persian like a scholar. Hindustani was his mother tongue, the language used by the Mughal Court in private life. He had some knowledge of Hindi, too, and could talk and recite popular sayings in that language.* He acquired a mastery over Chaghtai Turki, as he had served in Balkh and Qandahar, and the Mughal army contained a large body of men recruited from Central Asia. Under exactly the same circumstances Jai Singh had learnt that foreign tongue.†

Aurangzib wrote Arabic in a vigorous and masterly *naskh* hand. In this he Handwriting. used to copy the *Quran*, a deed of piety in Muslim eyes. Two manuscripts of this book he presented to Mecca and Medina, after richly binding and illuminating them.‡ A third copy is preserved at the tomb of Nizam-

* *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 334. *Alamgirnamah*, 1095.

† *Dilkasha*, p. 63.

‡ *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 532.

uddin Auliya near Delhi. Others were sold in his lifetime by this puritan Emperor, who deemed it sinful to eat the bread of idleness, and used to ply the trade of copyist and cap-maker in his leisure hours in order to earn his livelihood. Copies of these *Qurans* are known to exist here and there in India.

“His *nastaliq* and *shikasta* styles of writing were also excellent,” says Saqi Mustad Khan, and this we can readily believe, for Aurangzib was the author of a vast number of letters, and made it a point to write orders across all petitions in his own hand.* The princes of the house of Akbar were taught handwriting with great care, as the signatures of Shah Jahan and Dara Shukoh on some Persian MSS. of their libraries, and the autograph remarks of Jahangir in his book of fate (a copy of the *Diwan* of Hafiz), look remarkably clear and beautiful.†

In his letters and speeches, he frequently quotes verses to point his remarks. But *Favourite studies.* these “familiar quotations” were a part of the mental equipment of every cultured Muhammadan, and do not prove any special taste for poetry. Indeed his historian remarks, “This

* *Alamgirnamah*, 1092—'94.

† MSS. containing the autographs of these princes are preserved in the Khuda Bakhsh Library, Bankipur.

emperor did not like to hear useless poetry, still less laudatory verses. But he made an exception in favour of poems containing good counsels.* The moral precepts of Sadi and Hafiz he had evidently learnt by rote in his youth, and he quoted them to his last day, but he does not seem to have studied these poets in later life. Once he asked for the works of a poet named Mulla Shah.† But we may rightly hold that, unlike his grandfather he was not fond of poetry, and unlike Shah Jahan he had no passion for history. "His favourite study was theological works,—Commentaries on the *Quran*, the Traditions of Muhammad, Canon Law, the works of Imam Muhammad Ghazzali, selections from the letters of Shaikh Sharf Yahia of Munir, and Shaikh Zainuddin Qutb Muhi Shirazi, and other works of that class."‡ We also learn that he

* *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 532.

† Asiatic Society of Bengal Pers. MS. F. 27, 5a. He mentions another poet whose pen-name was *Fani*.

‡ *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 531-532. He spent his leisure in the afternoon in investigating theological problems, deliberating on the philosophy of truth, (lit., 'the certain sciences,') reading the books and pamphlets of wisemen and saints. (*Alamgirnamah*, 1103.) Aurangzib speaks of his having read two books of Ghazzali (A.S.B. Pers. MS. F. 27, 126a and b.)

highly prized the *Nihaiyya* of Mulla Abdullah Tabbakh.* Like many other pious Muslims, and even some ladies of the Mughal royal family, Aurangzib committed the *Quran* to memory.

Such intellectual tastes made him find delight in the society of dervishes, and when he was Viceroy of the Deccan, he took care to visit the holymen of Islam in his province, engaging them in talk, and reverently learning wisdom at their feet.

Painting he never appreciated. Indeed the portraiture of any living being
 No taste for the fine arts. was impossible under an orthodox Islamic king, as an impious imitation of the Creator. Music he banished from his Court, in the outburst of devotion which marked the completion of the tenth year of his reign. Fine Chinaware he liked, and these were presented to him by nobles and traders. But he had none of his father's passion for building. No masterpiece of architecture, no superb or exquisite mosque,† hall, or tomb marks his reign.

* *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 391.

† Except one, the Pearl Mosque in the Delhi palace, which was begun on 10 Dec. 1659 and completed in 5 years at a cost of one *lakh* and sixty thousand rupees, (*Alamgir-namah*, 468, *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 29). His mosque at Lahore is not the best one in that city.

All that he built took the impress of his utilitarian mind. They were commonplace necessary things, piles of brick and mortar, which quickly decayed. Such were the mosques which marked the scenes of his victories, and the numberless *serais* which he built along the Imperial highways running to the south and the west.*

One incident of his boyhood made his fame ring throughout India, and showed what stuff he was made of. It was his encounter with a fighting elephant on 28th May, 1633. That morning Shah Jahan, who loved this sport, set two huge elephants, Sudhakar and Surat-sundar by name, to fight a combat on the level bank of the Jumna near the mansion at Agra which he used to occupy before his accession. They ran for some distance and then grappled together just below the balcony of the morning salute in the fort. The Emperor hastened there to see the fight, his eldest three sons riding a few paces before him. Aurangzib, intent on seeing the fight, edged his way very close to the elephants.

* Aurangzib's mosque at Fatihabad or Dharmat, where he defeated Jaswant Singh, was in ruins when I visited it on 19th October, 1909. For the *serais* he built, see *Alamgir-namah*, 1084.

The brutes after a while let go their grip and each stepped back a little. **Elephant charges Aurangzib.** Sudhakar's spirit was fully roused. Losing sight of his opponent he turned to vent his wrath on the prince standing by. Trumpeting fiercely, the moving mountain charged Aurangzib. The Prince, then only fourteen years old, calmly stood his ground, kept his horse from turning back, and flung his spear at the elephant's head. All was now confusion and alarm. The crowd swayed this way and that, men stumbling on one another in their eagerness to flee. The nobles and the servants ran about shouting, fireworks were let off to scare away the elephant, but all to no effect. The animal came on and felled Aurangzib's horse with a sweep of his long tusk. But the prince jumped up from the ground, drew his sword, and faced the raging beast. The unequal combat would have soon ended fatally for the heroic boy, but succour was at hand. His brother Shuja forced his way through the crowd and smoke, galloped up to the elephant, and wounded it with his spear. But his horse reared and he was thrown down. Rajah Jai Singh, too, came up, and while managing his shying steed with one hand attacked the elephant with the other from the right side. Shah Jahan

shouted to his own guards to run to the spot.

Just then an unlooked for diversion came to the princes' aid. The other elephant, Suratsundar, ran up to renew the combat, and Sudhakar, having now no stomach for the fight, or being daunted by the spear-thrusts and fire works discharged at him, fled from the field with his rival thundering at his heels.

The danger thus passed away, and the princes were saved. Shah Jahan clasped
Aurangzib re-warded. Aurangzib to his bosom, praised his courage, gave him the title of *Bahadur* or 'hero,' and covered him with presents. The courtiers cried out that the boy had inherited his father's reckless courage, and told each other how Shah Jahan in his youth had attacked a wild tiger sword in hand before the eyes of Jahangir.*

On this occasion Aurangzib gave a foretaste
Brave words. of his lofty spirit and royal contempt for death, in his speech as reported by Hamiduddin Khan. When his father lovingly chid him for his rash courage, he replied, "If the fight had ended fatally for me it would not have been a matter of shame.

* Abdul Hamid, I.A. 489—495, Khafi Khan, I. 474. In one MS. we have *Madhukar* for *Sudhakar*.

Death drops the curtain even on emperors; it is no dishonour. The shame lay in what my brothers did!"*

Three days afterwards occurred his fifteenth birthday. The Emperor had the boy weighed against gold pieces in full Court and presented him with the amount (5000 *mohars*,) the elephant Sudhakar, and other gifts worth two *lakhs* of rupees in all. The heroic deed was celebrated in Urdu and Persian verses. The Poet Laureate, Saidai Gilani, surnamed Bedil Khan, got Rs. 5,000 for his ode. Shuja was praised for his gallant exertions. Another sum of 5,000 gold pieces was distributed by the Emperor in charity.†

Thereafter we get occasional glimpses of Aurangzib. Next year the Emperor paid a visit to Kashmir. Aurangzib accompanied him, and was presented with the parganah of Lukh-bhavan near Sahibabad or Achbal (September, 1634).‡

* Hamiduddin Khan's *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, Ir. MS. 15a & b. Dara Shukoh is unjustly taunted with cowardice in the above speech. He was at some distance from Shuja and Aurangzib, and could not, even if he had wished it, have come to Aurangzib's aid as the affair was over in a few minutes. For another version of the incident, see Dow, iii. 136.

† Abdul Hamid, I. A. 493.

‡ Abdul Hamid, I. B. 52. *Achbal*, in the Kuthar Pargana,

Hitherto Aurangzib had been getting, like other Mughal princes before they were old enough for military appointment, a daily allowance of Rs. 500. But on 13th December, 1634, though not yet sixteen, he got his first post in the Mughal peerage, with the rank of a Commander of Ten Thousand Horse, with an additional following of 4000 troopers. He was also permitted to use the red tent, which was a royal prerogative.* The governorship of the Deccan was intended for him, and there, under the guidance of the highest generals of his father's Court, he was expected to receive the best education then possible for a man of action and a leader of men. As a preparation for this high and difficult post he was given his first lessons in the art of war and the control of men by being sent to the Bundela Expedition in September, 1635.†

75°17 E. Long. 33°41 N. Lat., famous for its beautiful springs described by Bernier (Constable's ed. p. 413). At the western end of the Pargana and 5 miles to the s. w. of Achbal is the village of *Lokbavan*. King Lalitaditya is said to have built a town here. A small garden-palace erected in Mughal times near the spring is partly constructed of old materials. (Stein's *Rajatarangini*, i. 50n, ii. 468.)

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 65.

† *Ibid*, I. B. 99.

CHAPTER II.

THE BUNDELA WAR, 1635.

As the old road from Agra to the Deccan leaves Bundelkhand. Gwalior, it skirts on its left hand side an extensive jungly tract known as Bundelkhand. The Jumna river and the Kaimur range, meeting in a sharp angle near Mirzapur, enclose this district on the north, east, and south. Its western boundary is the edge of the Malwa plateau. The river Betwa flowing north-eastwards to the Jumna cuts it into two.

The Bundela race, the Bundelas, a clan of Gaharwar Rajputs, whose mythical genealogy stretches up to Rajah Pancham, a sworn devotee of the goddess Vindhya-basini, and even beyond him to Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana*.* The only element of truth that we can extract from

* Pogson's *History of the Boondelas* (1828), 3—11, *Masir-ul-Umara*, ii. 317.

this mass of fiction is that a great ancestor of the family migrated from the Benares, through the Mirzapur District, and established his rule over this tract by dispossessing its older rulers, Afghans and aborigines.* Urchha, on the Betwa, was their first capital, (founded in 1531). Here lived the head of the clan. The Bundelas multiplied fast, and the younger branches established principalities all over the land, each centring round a fort. One of these, Mahoba, sheltered within a network of ravines, rose to prominence in the latter half of the seventeenth century, under, Champat Rao and his son Chhatra Sal, who long troubled the Imperial government. Other scions of the family reigned at Simroha Shahpur, and many another town.†

The Bundela power reached its zenith under
Bir Singh Dev. Bir Singh Dev, the agent employed by Jahangir in murdering his father's beloved minister Abul Fazl. There was hardly any favour which the Emperor could

* Elliot's *Memoirs...of the Races of the N. W. P.* ed. by Beames, i. 45-46. *Imperial Gazetteer* (ed. 1906) ix, 68, 70, *Masir-ul-Umara*, ii. 131.

† Pogson, 11. *Urchha* is situated 7 m. south-east of Jhansi fort. *Mahoba* is midway on the railway line between Jhansi and Manikpur.

refuse to this Rajah.* Bir Singh grew in wealth and power, and towards the close of his patron's reign, when the Imperial administration grew slack, he freely levied contributions from the neighbouring princes, for none durst complain against the favourite. As a still higher mark of his master's favour he was permitted to build grand temples at Mathura, Urchha, and other places;—a fact which the Muhammadan historian can explain only by supposing that the Islamic Emperor was then sinking into dotage!† With all his lavish expenditure on temples and *ghats*, gifts to Brahmans, and construction of palaces, forts and lakes, Bir Singh died in 1627, the master of fabulous wealth, fully two *krores* of rupees,—which in Bundela fashion was buried in wells and other safe places in the pathless jungles, and their secret confided only to a few.‡

His eldest son Jhujhar Singh had given offence to Shah Jahan by leaving the capital for his home without permission, soon after the

**Jhujhar Singh
punished.**

* Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, i. 488 and xxv-xxvi *M.U.* ii. 197—199.

† *M.U.* ii. 199. Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, I. A. 293.

‡ Abd. Ham., I. B. 117.

Emperor's accession. But an army of 34,500 soldiers—cavalry, foot musketeers, and sappers, penetrated into his country from three directions, stormed the fort of Irich, slaughtered 2000 of the garrison including "many young and old," and quickly forced the Rajah to make submission. He secured pardon only by promising a large tribute and sending a contingent of his clansmen to fight in the Emperor's wars in the South.*

To this race of primitive warriors a peaceful life was impossible. War was their sole occupation, their sole means of earning glory and riches, and their only amusement. This restless spirit made the Bundelas, when not usefully occupied

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 240—242, 246—248. Jhujhar's life is given in *M.U.* ii. 214—217. The cause of his flight is stated to have been his fear lest the stricter administration of Shah Jahan should make him disgorge his father's unauthorised annexations of territory. Dow says that "having come to pay his respects at the court of Agra, he found that an addition was made in the books of the Imperial Treasury, to the tribute which he and his ancestors had formerly paid to the house of Timur. Instead of petitioning for an abatement of the impost, he fled without taking leave of the Emperor." (iii. 108.) Khafi Khan, i. 406, says that Jhujhar was alarmed and fled on learning that Shah Jahan had been thinking of extirpating his father for his annexations and exactions during Jahangir's last years. *Irich* is situated on a bend of the Betwa river, 40 miles N. E. of Jhansi (*Ind. Atlas*, sheet 69 N. W.).

in war, a bye-word for robbery and disturbance throughout the seventeenth century.*

Jhujhar could not long remain quiet. He led an army to Chauragarh, an old Gond capital, beyond the Narmada, captured it, and, in violation of his plighted word, slew the Rajah Prem Narayan and seized his ancestral hoard, amounting to 10 *lakhs* of rupees. The victim's son appealed to Shah Jahan, but strangely enough, the Mughal Emperor's righteous indignation was not roused by this act of spoliation, he only demanded a share of the booty† and offered to

Captures Chauragarh.

* *Imp. Gazetteer*, ix. 70.

† Abdul Hamid, I. B. 95, gives the Gond king's name as *Bim* (=Bhim) *Narayan*. The *Imp. Gaz.* xviii. 387, has *Prem Narayan*. Shah Jahan's message to Jhujhar ran thus: "As you have shed the blood of Bhim Narayan and his family and seized the country of Garha without my permission, it is best for you to present the country to my officers. But if you wish to be confirmed in that country you must give up your *jagirs* near your home, in exchange of it, and send to me 10 *lakhs* of rupees out of the cash taken from Bhim Narayan." This is the official account revised by Shah Jahan himself. Not a word is said here about making restitution to the murdered Rajah's son. Khafi Khan, who admittedly took his facts from this book, however, says, "Shah Jahan repeatedly wrote to Jhujhar to restore Bhim Narayan's property to his heirs, but in vain" (i. 507).

leave Jhujhar in possession of his conquest if he ceded an equivalent territory to the Mughals! This the Bundela was most unwilling to do. Deciding on a policy of resistance, he secretly recalled his son Yograj (surnamed Vikramajit), whom he had left in charge of his contingent in Balaghât. The youth slipped away unperceived. But an energetic Mughal officer, Khan-i-Dauran, was soon at his heels, reached Ashta from Burhanpur by forced marches in five days, and overtook Vikramajit, who fled defeated and wounded to his father at Dhamuni.*

A habitual plunderer and refractory chieftain could not be left unsubdued on the edge of the Deccan road. Shah Jahan organised an expedition to hunt him down. Three

Refuses to submit to the Emperor.

armies were to converge upon the rebel's country: Syed Khan-

i-Jahan with 10,500 men from Budaun, Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firuz Jang with 6,000 men from the north, and Khan-i-Dauran with 6,000 men from the south-west. The Bundela army

Armies sent against him.

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 95-96. *Chauragarh* is in the Narsinghpur District, C. P., about 10 miles S. E. of the Gadarwara Station. *Dhamuni* is near the Dhasan river 24 m. north of Saugor in C. P. (*Ind. Atlas*, 70 S. W.).

numbered less than 15,000 but were aided by the rocks and jungles of their home.*

Among the Hindu mercenaries of the Mughal army was a Bundela claimant in whom Shah Jahan found a useful tool. Devi Singh was the representative of the eldest branch of the Rajahs of Urchha, which had been set aside by Jahangir when he gave the throne to his favourite Bir Singh Dev. Jhujhar had duly succeeded his father; but in Devi Singh's eyes the usurpation continued, and he himself was the rightful heir to the Bundela throne. He was now earning his bread as a Captain in the Mughal army, and waiting for some opportunity of winning the Emperor's favour and ousting his rival. Shah Jahan now offered to make him Rajah of Urchha, and got the invaluable help of a Bundela contingent burning with hatred of Jhujhar and eager to guide the invaders through the jungles and disclose all the weak points of their native land.†

The three Mughal generals were of equal rank,

* The Bundela army consisted of about 5000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, whereas in the Mughal army the horse outnumbered the foot several times.

† Abdul Hamid, I. B. 96—98, 106. *M.U.* ii. 295, 213.

and it would have been hard to ensure unity of plan and co-operation among them if they had been left to themselves. A supreme commander was needed, whose high position would of itself enforce discipline and obedience. For this purpose the Emperor sent his son Aurangzib, then a lad of sixteen, with the rank of a Commander of 10,000 and escorted by 1000 archers of the guard and 1000 horse. He was to be the nominal chief of the expedition, and stay far in the rear. The three generals were to advise him about every military operation, but his voice was to be decisive, and they were not to act without consulting him.*

In the meantime an ultimatum had been

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 99-100. Dow's highly coloured account is very amusing to read: "Aurungzebe was sent against him. This was the first opportunity given to that young lion of rioting in blood....The war was protracted for two years...Aurungzebe though but thirteen years of age, displayed that martial intrepidity...which could not be restrained. He was present in every danger, &c." (iii. 132). If the campaign was meant to be Aurangzib's baptism of fire, we must say that the baptism was performed at a great distance from the fire. Throughout the war the young prince was kept by his guardian safe in the rear, many miles behind the fighting line.

presented to Jhujhar Singh: he must submit, pay a fine of 30 *lakhs*, and cede a district. But these terms had been rejected. After the rainy season the three divisions united together near Bhandar, about 25 miles north-east of Jhansi, and marched upon Urchha. Every day the pioneers cut the jungle and extended the road, while the Bundela skirmishers shot at them under cover of the trees, but with no success. On 2nd October, 1635, the army arrived at a village two miles from Urchha; and the Bundela prince in the Imperial camp, fired with domestic hatred and ambition, stormed the hillock where the enemy had mustered in force and took many prisoners. At this Jhujhar lost heart, removed his family to Dhamuni and soon afterwards fled thither himself. Early in the morning of 4th October the Mughals scaled the walls of the Bundela capital, while the small garrison left by Jhujhar escaped through the opposite gate.*

A day was spent in taking full possession of the city and installing Devi Singh as Rajah.

Then the Mughal army crossed the Betwa and hastened southwards to Dhamuni. But their

Fort of Dhamuni captured.

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 98—100, 106-107.

prey had again fled. Jhujhar Singh had found no safety in Dhamuni, but gone further south, across the Vindhya hills and the Narmada river, to Chauragarh in the land of the Gonds. Dhamuni had, however, been prepared to stand a siege. The houses round the fort had been razed to the ground and a gallant Rajput named Ratnai left in command. On 18th October the Imperialists arrived before the fort and began siege operations. The garrison fought till midnight, and then sent a man to Khan-i-Dauran to beg for quarter. But a body of Ruhelas had run their trenches to the edge of the bamboo thicket adjoining the eastern wall of the fort, and occupied the jungle under cover of the darkness. After mid-night some of them entered the fort from that side and began to plunder. Khan-i-Dauran soon arrived and tried to restore order in the darkness. The fort was rapidly filling with the victors when suddenly a powder magazine in a tower of the southern wall took fire from the torch of a careless plunderer; a dreadful explosion followed, blowing up 80 yards of the enormously thick wall and killing 300 Rajputs standing under the wall and also 200 horses.*

News arrived about the exact route of the

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 108—110.

fugitives, and on 27th October the pursuit was

Pursuit of Jhuj- resumed. Arriving at Chaurahar through garh the Imperialists found that Gondwana.

Jhujhar had evacuated that fort also, after breaking up the artillery, burning all property, and blowing up the old Gond palaces. A Mughal garrison was posted here, but the main army encamped four miles off, at Shahpur. Here they learned that Jhujhar was flying south through the Gond kingdoms of Deogarh and Chanda, with 6000 soldiers and 60 elephants, and making about 16 miles a day. Though he had got a start of 14 days, the Mughal generals took up the chase from Shahpur with a light force which daily covered 40 miles. On the frontier of Chanda they came upon his traces and doubled their speed. Jhujhar turned at bay, fought the Mughals obstinately, but was defeated and driven into the jungle, and the pursuit was resumed. The fugitive, encumbered with women and property, and hindered in his movements by his paucity of horses, had no peace. He could not snatch any sleep, nor refresh his worn-out horses. As soon as he halted for the night, he heard of the approach of the pursuers, broke up his camp and urged his tired men and beasts on again. All means of escape were tried; the foot-tracks

of the elephants were rubbed out; treasure-laden elephants were sent by another path to lure the Mughals away from the road taken by the Bundela chief. But the Imperialists were too astute; they neglected everything else and steadily pursued the rebel himself. They also bribed the local landowners, who showed them the way and kept them regularly informed of the movements of Jhujhar, so that the jungle was now a hindrance rather than a shelter to him. And from the thievish Gonds no Bundela could expect mercy.*

Jhujhar's party was now divided, but all to no purpose. His sons were overtaken, and got no time to slay their women, as was the Rajput custom when death was to be preferred to dishonour. A few of the ladies had been stabbed, when the Mughals fell upon them, slew the guards, and captured the Bundela royal family.†

The rebel chief and his eldest son Vikramajit had fled into the heart of the jungle, where their doom overtook them. The Jhujhar murdered by the Gonds, moved by their instinct of plunder and hope of reward from the Mughals, surprised the exhausted princes

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 110-113.

† Abdul Hamid, I. B. 114-115.

in their sleep and cruelly did them to death.* Their heads were cut off and sent to the Emperor (December, 1635), who exposed them on the gates of his camp at Saihur.†

But their lot was happy in comparison. Happy

* The following very graphic and seemingly true account of their end is given by Dow (iii. 133); but we know not what Persian history he translated, and hence we cannot verify and accept his narrative. "The unfortunate Prince was, at length, overcome with fatigue. He came into a forest, and finding a pleasant plain in the middle, he resolved to halt; dreaming of no danger in the centre of an impervious wood. Both he and his followers alighted, and tying their horses to trees, betook themselves to rest. A barbarous race of men possessed the country round. They had not seen the Raja's troops, but the neighing of his horses led some of them to the spot. Looking from the thicket into the narrow plain where the fugitives lay, they perceived, to their astonishment, a number of men richly dressed, sleeping on the ground; and fine horses standing near, with furniture of gold and silver. The temptation was too great to be withstood by men who had never seen so much wealth before. They rushed upon the strangers and stabbed them in their sleep. While they were yet dividing the spoil, Nuserit came. The robbers were slain, and the head of the Raja was brought back to the army."

† Abdul Hamid, I. B. 116-117. Khafi Khan describes the war in i. 506-516.

too was Rani Parvati, Bir Singh's widow, who died of her wounds. A more His women placed in the terrible fate awaited the captive Mughal harem. ladies who survived: mothers and daughters of kings, they were robbed of their religion, and forced to lead the infamous life of the Mughal harem,*—to be the unloved plaything of their master's passion for a day or two and then to be doomed to sigh out their days like bondwomen, without knowing the dignity of a wife or the joy of a mother. Sweeter far for them would have been death from the hands of their dear ones than submission to a race that knew no generosity to the fallen, no chivalry to the weaker sex.

Three captives of tender age, (two sons and one grandson of Jhujhar,) were made Musal-Children converted to Islam. mans. Another son, Udaybhan, and Shyam Dawa the old and faithful minister of the house, who had taken refuge in Golkonda and been delivered to Shah Jahan, refused to apostatize and were executed in cold blood.†

The fort of Jhansi, with its big guns and war

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 133. Khafi Khan, i. 519.

† Abdul Hamid, I. B. 133, 139. Khafi Khan, i. 519, 523. According to the latter the converts were Durgabhan,

material was forced to capitulate at the end of October. The Imperial officers
:Spoils of war, now organised a regular hunt for the buried treasure of Bir Singh. The jungle was carefully searched and many wells filled with gold and silver were discovered in its untrodden depths. The spoils of war amounted to one *krone* of rupees besides other valuable property.*

As for the Gonds, their services against Jhujhar were forgotten. The Imperial forces in pursuit had reached the frontier of Chanda, the leading Gond kingdom. Such an honour had to be dearly paid for. The Rajah of Chanda was compelled to wait on the victors on his frontier, on the bank of the Pranhita river, pay down 6 *lakhs* in cash, and promise an annual tribute of 20 elephants or Rs. 80,000 as an equivalent.† This opened the door to future troubles, and his kingdom was subjected to repeated exactions by the Mughals in the next reign.

a son of Jhujhar, and Durjan Sal and Narsingh Dev, his grandsons.

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 133, 139, 119, and (for buried treasure) 110, 117, 123.

† Abdul Hamid, I. B. 117-118.

During the campaign in the Gond country Aurangzib had come to Dhamuni, far in the rear of the Temple convert-
ed into mosque. fighters. At his request Shah Jahan paid a visit to the newly conquered country, reaching Datia and Urchha at the end of November. At the Bundela capital "the Islam-cherishing Emperor demolished the lofty and massive temple of Bir Singh Dev near his palace, and erected a mosque on its site."* To this Devi Singh, the newly appointed Rajah, made no objection. The temples of his gods might be defiled, his brave and proud clansmen might be butchered, insolent aliens might trample his fatherland down "with the hoofs of their horses," the princesses of his house might be dragged into a shame worse than death,—but *he* could now enjoy the lordship of the country, he could now sit on the throne of Urchha and call himself a Rajah and the head of the Bundela clan, and therefore he rejoiced. For this he had laboured, and now he had his reward! Among the Hindu Rajputs who assisted at this pious work by fighting under the Mughal banner were Sisodias and Rathors, Kachhwahs and Hadas.†

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 121-122.

† A large body of Rajputs served in the army sent against

But the noblest of the Bundelas did not bow down to the traitor. They gathered under the brave Champat Rao of Mahoba, crowned Jhujhar's infant son Prithwiraj, and raided the territory of Urchha. This boy-king was soon afterwards captured and lodged in the state-prison of Gwalior.* But though one faineant Rajah after another reigned at Urchha, Champat Rao and his heroic son Chhatra Sal continued their wars to the end of the century. With them, however, it was a fruitless struggle. They could not hope to hold Urchha for good and unite the Bundelas under one sceptre; they only devastated the territory loyal to the Mughals, and spread havoc and insecurity over the land, till in the next century a mightier race of plun-

Jhujhar. Their captains are named in Abdul Hamid, I. B. 96-97, 99-100. To contrast the Hindu spirit with the Muhammadan let us consider an imaginary parallel. Suppose that when Clive after winning Plassey marched to Murshidabad and placed Mir Jafar on the throne, he had ordered the chief mosque of the town to be converted into a Christian church, where pigs would be sacrificed every year on Atonement Day, would Mir Jafar have consented to take the crown on such a condition, would the Muslim troops in the East India Company's service have submitted to this insult to their religion?

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 136, 193-194.

derers appeared on the scene, and Muslim and Bundela alike bowed down to the Maratha.*

Aurangzib returned from Dhamuni to wait on his father near Urchha, and together they travelled through the country, viewing its lakes and forts, beautiful scenery, and coverts for game. By way of Sironj they reached Daulatabad, where Aurangzib on 14th July, 1636, formally took leave of the Emperor to act as Viceroy of the Deccan.†

* Pogson, 108, 123 et seq. Abdul Hamid, ii. 221, 303, 304 (Champat submits and enters Dara's service). *Alamgir-namah*, (sides with Aurangzib, 92), 301. *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 169, *M.U.* ii. 294 and 321.

† Abdul Hamid, I. B. 118, 122-123, 134, &c., 205. *Topographical Notes*.—The fort of URCHHA had walls made of stones laid on one another without mud or mortar. It had no battlement. The walls were about 8 miles in length. The river Betwa washes its eastern face. (I. B. 122). The northern, eastern and southern faces of the fort of DHAMUNI were too steep to allow mining or trenching operations by besiegers. On the western side, where the ground is level, there were ditches 20 cubits deep, close to bamboo thickets under the walls. (107).

CHAPTER III.

FIRST VICEROYALTY OF THE DECCAN, 1636—1644.

Towards the close of Akbar's reign, the Mughal Empire began to extend beyond the Narmada river, which had so long been its southern boundary, except for the coast-strip running from Guzerat to Surat. Khandesh, the rich Tapti valley, was annexed in the year 1599.* Taking advantage of the discord and weakness reigning in Ahmadnagar, Akbar wrested from it Berar, the southern portion of the present Central Provinces. The murder of the heroic Chand Bibi by her factious nobles delivered the city of Ahmadnagar into his hands (1600); the boy Sultan was deposed and the kingdom annexed.† Thus in a few years the Mughal frontier had been pushed from the Narmada to the upper

* Berar in Elliot, VI. 84, 94, 98. Khandesh, VI. 134—146.

† Elliot, VI. 99—101.

courses of the Krishna river (here called the Bhimá). But the annexation was in form only. The new territory was too large to be effectively governed or even fully conquered. Everywhere, especially in the south and the west, local officers of the old dynasty refused to obey the conqueror, or began to set up puppet princes as a screen for their self-assertion. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda seized the adjacent districts of their fallen neighbour.

During Jahangir's feeble reign the Mughal advance was stayed and even beaten back. The

Emperor lay under the voluptuous spell of Nur Jahan. His
Pause during Jahangir's reign. generals took bribes from the

Deccani kings and let the war languish.* A great leader, too, arose in the South. Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian of rare genius and capacity, became prime minister of the shadowy king of Ahmadnagar, and for a time restored the vanished glories of the house. His wise revenue system made the peasantry happy, while enriching the State. A born leader of men, he conciliated all parties, maintained order, and left a

* For the Mughal wars in the Deccan in Jahangir's reign, see Abdul Hamid, I. B. 182—201, Khafi Khan, i. 282—294, 304—307, 314—324, 347—350. Gladwin, 19, 21, 25, 37—39, 51—54, etc.

name for justice, vigour and public benefit which has not been forgotten yet.* Building up a grand alliance of the Deccani Powers he attacked the Mughals in overwhelming force, drove them back to Burhanpur, and closely invested their Viceroy in that city (1620). The crisis broke the sleep of Jahangir. His brilliant son Shah Jahan was sent to the Deccan with a strong relieving force, and by firmness and skill he recovered much that had been lost since the death of Akbar. But the internal discords of the Mughal Court during Jahangir's dotage prevented the effectual conquest of the Deccan and the cause of the Imperialists did not prosper.

With the accession of Shah Jahan to the throne of Delhi the scene changed. He began a vigorous policy in the Deccan. His generals soon felt that their new master could not be befooled or disobeyed. Husain Shah, the last king of the Nizam Shahi dynasty, was captured (1633), and the old possessions of his house began to be won by his vanquisher.†

* For Malik Ambar see Abdul Hamid, I. B. 34, 197—200, Khafi Khan, i. 273—276, 282—285, 291—294, 304, 305, 314—322, 347—350, Gladwin, 51—54, 73—76, *Dilkasha*, 10—11, 90—92, Grant Duff, i. 94—97, India Office Persian MS. No. 1957 (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*), 6b—7b.

† This king of Ahmadnagar, a mere puppet in the hands

But a fresh complication now arose. The Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda cast longing glances at the adjacent forts and districts of Ahmadnagar, and tried to secure parts of the floating wreckage of the ruined kingdom. Nizam Shahi officers entered the service of the Bijapur king or were secretly aided by him in resisting the Mughals. He bribed them to give up to him some of their late master's forts. Shahji Bhonsla, the father of the celebrated Shivaji, with his light cavalry gave the Mughals great trouble. He could not be finally subdued without first getting control over Bijapur and Golkonda.*

The occasion called for heroic exertions, and Shah Jahan made his preparations on a befitting scale. For more efficient administration, Daulatabad and Ahmadnagar were now separated from the province of Khandesh and made an

of his minister Fatih Khan (the son of Ambar), was given up to the Mughals at the capture of Daulatabad, 17th June 1633, (Abdul Hamid I. A. 528) and imprisoned in Gwalior in September (540). Shahji set up another prince, whom he surrendered in November or December 1636. This boy is called a son (I. B. 135) and elsewhere a kinsman (*khesheh*) of Nizam Shah (I. B. 36, 229, 256).

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 35, 135, 140.

independent charge, with its separate viceroy and capital, (November, 1634). Early in the next year a Mughal force from Daulatabad gave Shahji a long chase, but returned to Ahmadnagar without being able to catch the swift Maratha. The Emperor himself arrived at Daulatabad to direct the operations (21st February, 1636.)* Three large armies, totalling 50,000 men, were held ready to be launched upon Bijapur and Golkonda if they did not submit, while a fourth, eight thousand strong, under Shaista Khan, was despatched to capture the Nizam Shahi forts in the north-west, and to take possession of the Junnar and Nasik districts.†

The news of this immense armament cowed down Abdullah, the king of Golkonda, and without striking a blow in defence of his independence he agreed to become a vassal of the Mughals. With an abjectness shameful in a crowned head, he promised an annual tribute, coined gold and silver pieces at his capital in the name of Shah Jahan, and caused the Mughal Emperor to be proclaimed from the pulpit as

Golkonda submits.

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 62, 68-69, 138.

† For Shaista Khan's operations, Abdul Hamid, I. B. 135-141, 146-150, Khafi Khan, i. 521-523.

his suzerain, while he stood by in loyal approval !
(April, 1636.)^{*}

The king of Bijapur had not fallen so low as that. He made a stand for the power and dignity of his ancestors. But the three Mughal armies at once entered his kingdom from three points, Bidar in the N. E., Sholapur in the W. and Indapur in the S. W. With a ruthlessness surpassing that of the French who desolated the Palatinate, the Mughal invaders everywhere destroyed all traces of cultivation, burnt down the houses, drove off the cattle, butchered the villagers, or dragged them away to be sold as slaves. With a refinement of cruelty they forced their prisoners to carry their own property for the benefit of the captors ! Flourishing villages were ruined for ever, and the population thinned.† But like the Dutch of a generation later, the

* Abd. Ham. I. B. 145.

† Khan-i-Dauran slew 2000 men at the village of Kalian (Abdul Hamid, I. B. 151). And so also at other places. Khan-i-Zaman in the Kolhapur district sold 2000 prisoners of war, male and female, into slavery (Abd. Ham. I. B. 163). The operations of Khan-i-Dauran's division are described in Abd. Ham. I. B. 151—154, Syed Khan-i-Jahan's in 155—160, Khan-i-Zaman's in 160—165. The whole in Khafi Khan, i. 520—521, 525—530.

Bijapuris opposed to their foes the courage of despair. They cut the dam of the lake of Shahpur, flooded the country round the capital, and thus saved the city from invasion. The Mughal raiders returned baffled to their own territory.* Both sides now felt the need of peace, and a compromise was soon arrived at. Shah Jahan made a treaty with the king of Bijapur† on the following terms—

(1) Adil Shah, the king of Bijapur, must acknowledge the overlordship of the Emperor and promise to obey his orders in future.

Terms of peace with Bijapur.

(2) The pretence of a Nizam Shahi kingdom should be ended and all its territories divided between the Emperor and the Bijapur king. Adil Shah should not violate the new Imperial frontier nor let his servants hinder the Mughal officers in occupying and settling the newly annexed districts.

(3) The Sultan of Bijapur was to retain all his ancestral territory with the following additions from the Ahmadnagar kingdom:—in the west, the Sholapur and Wangi *mahals*, between the

* Abd. Ham. I. B. 153, Khafi Khan, i. 527.

† For the treaty with Bijapur see Abdul Ham. I. B. 168—173, 203, and Khafi Khan, i. 531—534, 537. For the treaty with Golkonda, Abd. Ham. I. B. 177—180.

Bhima and the Sina rivers, including the forts of Sholapur and Parenda; in the north-east, the *parganahs* of Bhalki and Chidgupa;* and that portion of the Konkan which had once belonged to the Nizam Shahs, including the Puna and Chakan districts. These acquisitions comprised 50 *parganahs* and yielded a revenue of 20 *lakhs* of *hun* (or eighty *lakhs* of rupees). The rest of the Nizam Shahi dominion was to be recognized as annexed to the Empire beyond question or doubt.

(4) Adil Shah should pay the Emperor a peace-offering of twenty *lakhs* of rupees in cash and kind. But no *annual* tribute was imposed.

(5) Golkonda being now a State under Imperial protection, Adil Shah should in future treat it with friendship, respect its frontier (which was fixed at the river Manjira, or roughly at 78° East longitude), and never demand costly presents from its Sultan, to whom he must behave "like an elder brother."

(6) Each side undertook not to seduce the

* *Wangi*, 18°11 N. 75°12 E. one mile E. of the Bhima and 21 m. S. W. of Parenda (*Ind. At.*, 39 S. E.) *Parenda*, 18°15 N. 75°31 E. (*Ibid.*) *Bhalki*, 18°2 N. 77°15 E., 19 m. N. E. of Kaliani (*Ibid.*, 56.) *Chidgupa* 17°42 N. 77°17 E., 21 m. S. E. of Kaliani and 10 m. W. of Honnabad (*Ibid.*, 57). *Chakan*, 18°45 N. 73°55 E., 30 m. S. of Junnar (*Ibid.*, 39 N. W.).

officers of the other from their master's service, nor to entertain deserters, and Shah Jahan promised for himself and his sons that the Bijapur king would never be called upon to transfer any of his officers to the Imperial service.

(7) Shahji Bhonsla, who had set up a princeling of the house of Nizam Shah, should not be admitted to office under Bijapur, unless he ceded Junnar, Trimbak, and some other forts still in his hands to Shah Jahan. If he declined, he was not to be harboured in Bijapur territory or even allowed to enter it.

On 6th May, 1636, Shah Jahan sent to Adil Shah a solemn letter impressed **Treaty ratified.** with the mark of his palm dipped in vermillion, promising the above terms with an appeal to God and the Prophet to be witnesses. A portrait of the Emperor enclosed in a frame set with pearls and emeralds and hung by a string of pearls, which Adil Shah had begged, accompanied the letter. The Bijapur king received them on the 20th and in return delivered to the Mughal ambassador an autograph letter sealed with his own seal, formally agreeing to the treaty, and in the presence of the ambassador swore on the Quran to observe the conditions.*

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 167, 173, 175.

For the ratification of the treaty an abstract of it was engraved on a gold plate and delivered to Adil Shah.

A still happier settlement was effected with the Sultan of Golkonda. On Treaty with Golkonda. 25th June presents worth 40 lakhs of rupees arrived from him, with an autograph letter in which he vowed allegiance to the Emperor. Out of the four lakhs of *hun*, which he was bound to pay every year to the kings of Ahmadnagar, one-half was transferred to the Emperor, and the other remitted for the future.* This tribute was stipulated for in *huns*, a South Indian gold coin weighing about 52 grains. But as the exchange value of the *hun* in relation to the rupee afterwards varied, the king of Golkonda sowed another of the seeds of his future disputes with the Mughals.†

Thus after forty years of strife the affairs of the Deccan were at last settled. The Mughal position in the Deccan assured. position of the Emperor was asserted beyond challenge, his boundaries clearly defined, and his suzerainty over the Southern kingdoms formally established. A long period of peace could be now looked forward to, except for the hunting down of Shahji

* Abul Hamid, I. B. 177—179.

† *Adab-i-Alamgiri* (Khuda Bakhsh MS.) 56a.

(who still led a shadowy Nizam Shahi king by the string), and the capture of a few forts like Udgir and Ausa, where the old Nizam Shahi officers still defied the Mughals. The Bijapur king, therefore, requested Shah Jahan to return to Northern India, as his continued presence with a large army was scaring away the Deccan peasantry from their homes and fields, and preventing the restoration of cultivation. As for the five forts in Shahji's hands, Adil Shah himself would wrest them from the usurper for the Mughals.

Nothing being now left for Shah Jahan to do in the Deccan, he turned his back on Daulatabad (11th July, 1636) and set out for Mandu. Three days afterwards he sent away Aurangzib after investing him with the viceroyalty of the Deccan.*

The Mughal Deccan at this time† consisted of four provinces:—

I. **KHANDESH** or the Tapti valley, between the Satpura range in the north and the Sahyadri mountain in the south, with its capital at Burhanpur and fort at Asirgarh.

Mughal provinces in the Deccan.

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 202, 205.

Abdul Hamid, I. B. 205, 62-63.

II. BERAR, south-east of Khandesh, being bounded on the north by the Mahadeo hills and the Gond territory at the heart of the modern Central Provinces, and on the south by the Ajanta range and the Painganga river. Its capital was Ellichpur, and fort Gawilgarh.

III. TELINGANA, a vast and undefined territory of hills and forests, with a sparse and savage population, stretching south of Berar from Chanda and the Wainganga river to the northern and north-eastern frontiers of Golkonda. The whole of it was upland (*Balaghat*).*

IV. DAULATABAD, with Ahmadnagar and other dependencies. This was the Deccan proper and contained the seat of the viceroy at the fort of Daulatabad, while the civil station founded by Malik Ambar a few miles off, at Khirki, rapidly grew in size and splendour under Aurangzib and was newly named Aurangabad. The province was bounded on the north by the Ajanta hills and the Painganga river. Its eastern frontier as now defined was an imaginary line drawn about 77°15' East longitude, along the Manjira river, from Nander to Qandahar† and Udgir.

* The Golkonda frontier was along the Manjira river, west of Karimungi, 9 m. N. E. of Bidar (sheet 56) Abdul Hamid, I. B. 230, has *Kumgir*, evidently a mistake.

† Qandahar in *the Deccan*, 35 miles north of Udgir (*Ind.*

From the last named fort the line took a sharp turn due west to Ausa (a little above the 18th degree of North latitude), and then bent north-westwards by the northern limit of the Sholapur district, and the forts of Visapur, Parner and Junnar, till it struck the Western Ghats. At this part the Ghod river was the southern limit. Beyond Junnar, the boundary ran northwards along the Ghats, till it met the s. w. frontier of Khandesh at the angle where the Chandor hills branch off eastwards.*

There were in all 64 forts, mostly perched on hills, in these four provinces, and the total revenue was five *lakh* of rupees, with which Aurangzib was to meet all the charges of administration. All fief-holders in the Deccan received orders to wait on the prince with their fixed contingents of troops, as ten forts had yet to be conquered.

Shah Jahan had before his departure deputed two generals, one to besiege
 •Capture of Udgir. Udgir and Ausa in the s. e., and the other to conquer Junnar in the west and crush Shahji.

At. 56). *Nilang*, a fort midway between Udgir and Ausa, belonged to Bijapur.

* *Chamargunda* is spoken of as near the frontier of Mughal Ahmadnagar (Abd. Ham., I. B. 137).^f The province of

Khan-i-Dauran with his division arrived before Udgir* on 19th June and at once took possession of the village under the fort. Trenches were opened on the s., the w., and the s. w., and mines run from the western side. As the mines approached the wall, the garrison lost heart and their leader, an Abyssinian named Siddi Miftah, opened negotiations for surrender. But he demanded too high a price, and the siege was pressed on. A mine was fired and the outer earth-work (technically called Shir Haji,) a hundred yards in circuit, was blown down with all its guns, ballista and other armaments. But as the citadel was unharmed, no assault was delivered. At last on 28th September, after a defence of more than three months, the fort capitulated; Siddi Miftah was taken into Imperial service with the title of Habsh Khan and the rank of a Commander of Three Thousand.†

Meantime Ausa had been invested and a detach-

Daulatabad included the *sarkars* of Ahmadnagar, Patan, Bir, Jalnapur, Junnar, Sangamnir, and Fatihabad or Dharur (*Ibid*, 62.)

* *Udgir*, 18°21 N. 77°10 E. (*Indian Atlas*, Sh. 56) 24 miles north of Bhalki. *Ausa*, 18°15 N. 76°33 E., five miles south of the Towraj river which flows into the Manjira (*Ibid*.).

† Abdul Hamid, I. B. 217-219, 248.

ment left under Rashid Khan to carry on its siege. The fall of Udgir set free *Fall of AUSA.* a large force for strengthening the attack, while it damped the ardour of the defenders of AUSA. The commandant, a Rajput named Bhojbal, kept up a ceaseless fire on the besiegers. But when the trenches reached the edge of the ditch and mining was started, Bhojbal at last lost heart, gave up the fort (19th October), and was taken into the Imperial army as a Commander of One Thousand.*

Khan-i-Zaman's division had been equally successful in the Junnar district and the Konkan.†

Pursuit of Shahji. A Bijapur contingent under Randaula Khan co-operated with him according to the new treaty.

Leaving Ahmadnagar about the end of June, he marched on Junnar, of which the town was held by the Mughals and the fort by the Marathas. Two thousand men were told off to invest it, while the general himself marched with the rest of his army to capture Shahji's home near Puna. Heavy rain detained him for a month on the bank

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 220-221.

† Abdul Hamid, I. B. 225-230. *Junnar*, 19°12 N. 73°56 E. (*Ind. At.* 39 N. W.).

of the Ghod river.* When at last the Mughals reached Lauhgaon on the Indrayani river, 34 miles from Shahji's camp, the Maratha chief fled south to the hills of Kondhana (Sinhagarh) and Torna.†

The Mughals could not follow him at once as they had to cross three big rivers
 Shahji submits. and also waited to see whether Randaula Khan would succeed in inducing Shahji to give up his forts peacefully. At last they crossed the Bhor-ghat in three divisions. Meantime Shahji had fled to the Konkan by the Kumbhá Pass and begged for asylum in vain at Danda-Rajpuri and other places. Then he doubled back by the same pass. But hearing that the Mughals had entered the Konkan, he lost his head, and fled towards the fort of Mahuli, some 32 miles north-east of Bombay. Khan-i-Zaman followed hard on his track, leaving his baggage behind. News came to him that Shahji was at Muranjan, 30 miles ahead. The Mughals pushed on thither in spite of the mud; but as soon as they were seen descending from a hillock

* He evidently halted at Sirur, close to which is the cantonment of Ghodnadi (*Ind. At.* 39 N. W.).

† *Lohogaon*, 10 m. N. E. of Puna and three miles south of the Indrayani (*Ind. Atlas*, Sh. 39 S. W.) on the way to Sirur. For *Torna*, the text has *Tornad*.

6 miles behind the place, the Marathas lost heart and fled, leaving much of their property behind. At this the Mughals galloped on, slew many of Shahji's rear-guard, and chased them for 24 miles, till their horses gave up in sheer exhaustion. Shahji then effected his escape; but his camp, baggage, spare horses, and camels, and the royal kettledrum, umbrella, *palki*, and standard of his creature, the boy Nizam Shah, were all captured. The Maratha leader fled fast and in twenty-four hours reached Mahuli, dismissed his unnecessary retainers, and prepared to stand a siege. Khan-i-Zaman made another forced march through the rain and mud, seized the village at the foot of the fort with its store of provisions, and sat down before the two gates of Mahuli, stopping all ingress and egress. Shahji, after higgling for terms, at last capitulated: he entered the Bijapur service, and gave up to the Mughals his Nizam Shahi princeling, together with Junnar and six other forts still held by his men. Evidently he got good terms out of the Imperial Government, but the Court-historian is discreetly silent about the details. The campaign was over by the end of October, and Khan-i-Zaman returned to Aurangzib at Daulatabad to act as the Prince's chief adviser.

Khan-i-Dauran,* after capturing Udgir and AUSA, had extorted from the king of Golkonda a famous elephant named *Gajmati*, or "the Pearl among Elephants", priced one *lakh* of rupees, with another *lakh* of rupees for covering it with gold plates and *harwa* to make it worthy of presentation to the Emperor. He next marched into the Gond country, between the Wardha and the Wainganga, levying contributions. First he seized the forts of Ashta and Katanjhar (Katanjhiri) from the hands of some refractory Gond chiefs, and then besieged Nagpur, the stronghold of Kukia, the Gond Rajah of Deogarh, who had refused to pay contribution. Three mines were fired, overthrowing two towers and parts of the wall; the assault was delivered, and the commandant Deoji taken prisoner. Kukia now came down on his knees: he interviewed Khan-i-Dauran (16 January, 1637), and made peace by presenting one and a half *lakhs* of rupees in cash and all his elephants (170 in number) and promising an annual tribute of one and one-third *lakhs* of rupees. Nagpur was restored to him.

The victorious Khan-i-Dauran returned to the Emperor, with 8 *lakhs* of rupees levied from the

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 230-233.

Gond chiefs and others, and was extolled by his master above all his other generals, and given the high title of *Nusrat Jang* or "Victorious in War".*

The period of warfare which began with the Bundela Expedition in September, 1635, and ended now, enriched the Mughal treasury with tribute and booty amounting to two *krores* of rupees, and added to the empire a territory which *when cultivated* yielded a revenue of one *krore*. The Emperor now despatched a pompous letter to the Shah of Persia boasting of these conquests and gains.†

Aurangzib, however, was not long idle. The new treaties with Bijapur and Golkonda and the submission of the Gond country barred his aggression in the south and north-east. So, the Emperor authorised him to enrich himself and extend his dominion towards the north-west by conquering Baglana.‡

Between Khandesh and the Surat coast lies the district of BAGLANA. It is a small tract, stretching north and south for about 160 miles from the Tapti river to the Ghatmata hills

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 246-247.

† Abdul Hamid, I. B. 257-266, 181.

‡ Abdul Hamid, I. B. 280.

of the Nasik district, and 100 miles east and west across the Ghats. It contained only a thousand villages and nine forts, but no town of note. Small as was its area, its well-watered valleys and hill-slopes smiled with corn-fields and gardens; all kinds of fruits grew here and many of them were famous throughout India for their excellence. The climate, except in the rainy season, is cool and bracing. The State was further enriched by the fact that the main line of traffic between the Deccan and Guzerat had run through it for ages.*

A Rathor family, claiming descent from the
 Its ruler. royal house of ancient Kanauj,
 had ruled this land in unbroken
 succession for fourteen centuries. The Rajahs
 styled themselves *Shah* and used the distinctive
 title of BAHARJI. They coined money in their
 own names and enjoyed great power from the
 advantageous situation of their country and
 the impregnable strength of their hill-forts, two
 of which, Saler and Mulher, were renowned
 throughout India as unconquerable.†

* For a description of Baglana, see *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii. 251, Abdul Hamid, II. 105-106, *Imp. Gaz.* vi. 190-192. Tavernier's *Bergram* (i. 37) probably stands for Baglana. Khafi Khan, i. 561. Finch and Roe, (Kerr, viii. 277, ix. 256).

† *Saler*, 20°43 N. 70 E, 5263 feet above sea-level, 9 miles s. w. of *Mulher* (*Ind. At.* 38 N. W.) *Mulher*, 20°46 N. 74°7 E. on the Mosam river (37 S. W.) *Pipla*, 20°35 N. 74 E. 9 m. s. of *Saler* (38 N. W.)

But this position and these strongholds became the cause of their ruin when the Mughals conquered Guzerat and Khandesh and wanted to join hands across Baglana. An independent prince and master of mountain fastnesses could not be left in possession of the main route between these two provinces of the empire. The great Akbar had invaded the district, but after a seven years' fruitless siege* he had compounded with the Rajah, Pratap Shah, by ceding to him several villages as the price of protection to all merchants passing through his land. Bairam Shah was now seated on the throne of Pratap.

Aurangzib sent an army of 7000 men under Maloji, a Deccani officer in the Imperial service, and Muhammad Tahir Khurasani (afterwards Wazir Khan) to besiege the capital Mulher.† This fort covers the spacious top of a low hill close to the Mosam river, 9 miles north-east of Saler. As is the case with all Deccani forts, it shelters a walled village lower down the hill side, called the *Bari* or in the language of further south the *Pettah*. Here lived the Rajah and his family. On 16th January,

* *Imp. Gaz.* vi. 191. I can find no support of this statement in Abul Fazl or Badauni.

† *M. U.* iii. 937, 522.

1638, the Mughal army in three divisions stormed the lower fort or *Bari*, with heavy loss on both sides.* The Rajah with some 500 men retired to the upper fort and was there blockaded. A month's close investment reduced him to submission. He sent his mother and minister to *Baglana* annexed. offer to Aurangzib the keys of his other eight forts and to beg for himself a post in the Emperor's service, (15th February). The overture was accepted; he was created a Commander of Three Thousand and consoled with an estate in Sultanpur, a district of Khandesh, north of the Tapti. On 4th June, he evacuated Mulher; his kingdom was annexed, and its revenue fixed at 4 *lakhs* for the present. A month later, his kinsman Rudbá surrendered the fort of Piplá, 9 miles south of Saler. One hundred and twenty pieces of artillery, large and small, were seized in the forts.†

Bairam Shah's son-in-law, Somdev, ruled over Rám Nagar. But as the revenue of this petty

* Khafi Khan says that a daredevil Mughal officer named Syed Abdul Wahhab Khandeshi, with 4 or 5 Syeds expert in hill climbing, one standard-bearer, one trumpeter and one water-carrier, made a secret march by an unfrequented jungle path for three successive nights and on the fourth day appeared on the ridge of the *Bari*, and suddenly attacked it with a great noise. Encouraged by his example, the Mughal forces on the plain charged up hill and stormed the *Bari*.

† Abdul Hamid, II. 106—109; Khafi Kh. i. 542, 561—564.

State fell short of its public expenditure, it was deemed unworthy of annexation. A contribution of ten thousand rupees was, however, exacted from him.

Aurangzib's first viceroyalty of the Deccan extended from 14th July, 1636 to 28th May, 1644. During these eight years he paid four visits to his father in Northern India, leaving some great noble, usually his maternal uncle Shaista Khan, to act for him. He gradually rose in rank, being promoted to a Command of Twelve Thousand (his additional force being 7,000 troopers) on 14th August, 1637, and next to the rank of a Commander of Fifteen Thousand (the additional troopers being 9,000) on 23rd February, 1639.* Only a few incidents of this period are recorded in history.

Kheloji Bhonsla, the first cousin of Shahji, had held a high rank among the Nizam Shahi officers. In 1629 he came over to the Mughals with his two brothers, Maloji and Parsuji, got the rank of a Commander of Five Thousand, and distinguished himself under the banners of his new master. But in 1633 when the fort of Daulatabad, the last stronghold of Nizam

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 277, II. 138.

Shah, was about to fall into the hands of the Imperialists, Kheloji deserted to Bijapur and repeatedly fought against the Mughal armies. The Maratha general's wife, when going to bathe in the Godavari, was captured by the Mughal Subahdar, who sent him word, "A man's wealth is only for saving his honour. If you pay me four *lakhs* of rupees I shall release your wife without doing harm to her chastity." No husband can resist such an appeal, and Kheloji paid this huge ransom. Soon afterwards, he was dismissed by the Bijapur Sultan who had made peace with Shah Jahan. Ruined by these losses, Kheloji came to the home of his forefathers near Daulatabad and took to a life of plunder and lawlessness. Aurangzib, on getting news of his place of hiding, sent a party of soldiers under Malik Husain and put the Maratha free-booter to death (about October, 1639).*

In 1640, "the Zamindar of Gondwana" (*i.e.*, the new Rajah of Deogarh) waited on the young viceroy at Burhanpur with a thanks-offering of four *lakhs* of rupees in return for his being allowed to succeed his late father.†

On 25th March, 1642, a costly set of presents offered by Aurangzib and consisting of gems,

* Abdul Hamid, II. 166, *Masir-ul-Umara*, iii. 520-521.

† Abdul Hamid, II. 197.

jewelled ware, rare products of the Deccan, and elephants, was displayed before the Emperor, who accepted out of them one *lakh* and twenty thousand rupees' worth, and suitably rewarded the giver in return.*

* *Ibid*, 289.

CHAPTER IV.

MARRIAGE AND FAMILY—VICEROYALTY OF GUZERAT.

The fort and district of Qandahar had been given by the Persian king Shah Tahmasp I. of the house of Safawi, to his nephew, Sultan Husain Mirza as an appanage. Persian princes seek refuge in India. Husain's son Mirza Muzaffar Husain exchanged the lordship of barren Qandahar for a high rank and splendid salary in the service of Akbar. His younger brother Mirza Rustam, too, emigrated to India in Akbar's reign and rose to eminence under Jahangir.

The Mughal emperors made the most of this opportunity of ennobling their blood by alliances with the royal family of Persia even through a younger branch. and marry into the imperial family. Muzaffar Husain's daughter was married to Shah Jahan, and two daughters of Mirza Rustam to the princes Parviz

and Shuja. Rustam's son was now a high grandee with the title of Shah Nawaz Khan.* One daughter of Shah Nawaz, named Dilras Banu, was betrothed to Aurangzib, 1637, and next year another daughter was married to Murad Bakhsh.†

On 15th April, 1637, Aurangzib arrived at Agra for his marriage.‡ Shah Jahan wrote him a most loving invitation in verse

Aurangzib married to Dilras Banu Begam.

to come and see him quickly and without ceremony. Next day the Prince had audience of his father. The royal astrologers had fixed 8th May as the date of the marriage. In the preceding evening was the ceremony of *henna-bandi* or dyeing the bridegroom's hands and feet with the red juice of the *henna* (*Lawsonia inermis*). Following the Indian custom, the bride's father sent the *henna* in a grand procession of the male and female friends of his house, servants and musicians. With the *henna* came an infinite variety of presents, a costly full dress suit for the bridegroom, toilet needments, embroidered scarfs for his kinsfolk, perfumed

* For Mirza Muzaffar Husain, *M. U.* iii. 296; Mirza Rustam, *M. U.* iii. 434; Shah Nawaz Khan, *M. U.* ii. 670.

† A generation afterwards (4 March, 1683) Azarm Banu, the daughter of Shah Nawaz's son, was married to Aurangzib's youngest son, Kam Bakhsh (*M. A.* 225.)

‡ Abdul Hamid, *I. B.* 255, 267-270.

essence, sugar candy, huge quantities of confects, dried fruits, prepared betel-leaves, and fire-works.

In the Private Hall of the Palace, the Prince's hands and feet were stained red with the *henna*, by ladies concealed behind a screen, and he was robed in the bride's presents, smeared with perfumes, and fed with the lucky sugar-candy. Then he held a reception of his male guests, which his uncle Yaminuddaula and other nobles attended, while the ladies looked on from behind lattice-screens. In the richly furnished hall the wedding gifts were displayed on trays, the scarfs, confects and betel-leaves were distributed, and the fire-works let off outside. All the time singing and dancing went on. The night's work was concluded with a supper to which the bridegroom sat down with all his guests.

Next night the marriage took place. The astrologers had selected four hours before dawn as the luckiest time for the ceremony. A long while before that hour the grand *wazir* Yaminuddaula Asaf Khan and Prince Murad Bakhsh went to Aurangzib's mansion on the Jumna, and conducted him by the river-side road to the fort-palace, to make his bow to the Emperor, who gave him costly presents of all kinds,—robes, jewels,

The *henna-bandhi* ceremony.

The marriage procession.

daggers, horses, and elephants, and with his own hands tied to the bridegroom's turban a glittering *sehra* or bunch of pearls and precious stones falling over his face like a veil. Then the marriage-procession was formed. Led by Murad, Yaminuddaula and other grandees on horseback, the long line paraded the streets of the capital, with music, lights, and discharge of fireworks that baffle description. When it reached the bride's house, the guests were made welcome and entertained by her father. Shah Jahan arrived by boat just before the ceremony, and in his presence the Qazi united the young pair in wedlock. The bridegroom promised his wife a dowry (*kabin*) of four lakhs of rupees; this she was to get from him in case of divorce. Her father kept himself aloof from the ceremony, for such is the custom of the Indian Muslims.

The marriage being over, another reception was held (14th May) in Aurangzib's house at which the Emperor was present. Wedding gifts were presented to the nobles, who bowed their thanks first to the Emperor and then to the bridegroom. The newly married Prince spent more than three happy months with his father at Agra and then, on 4th September, took his leave for the Deccan.*

* Abdul Hamid, I. B. 280.

We may here conveniently describe Aurangzib's wives and children. *Dilras Banu*, his consort, bore the high title of Begam or Princess. She died at Aurangabad on 8th October, 1657, from illness following child-birth,* and was buried in that city, under the title of 'the Rabia of the Age' (*Rabia-ud-daurani*.) Her tomb was repaired by her son Azam under order of Aurangzib, and is one of the sights of the place. She seems to have been a proud and self-willed lady and her husband stood in some awe of her.†

The Emperor's secondary wives were styled *Bâis* and *Mahals*. To this class *Nawab Bai*, belonged *Rahmat-un-nissa*, surnamed *Nawab Bai*, the mother of Bahadur Shah I. She was the daughter of Rajah Raju of the Rajauri State in Kashmir, and came of the hill-Rajput blood.‡ But on her son's accession to the throne of Delhi a false pedigree was invented for her in order to give Bahadur Shah a right to call himself a Syed. It was asserted by the flatterers of the Imperial Court that a Muslim

* Kambu, 6b. *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 198a, *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*, 36 & 39a.

† *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, §27.

‡ Irvine's *Stories of Mogor*, ii. 57n, 276n.

saint named Syed Shah Mir, sprung from the celebrated Syed Abdul Qadir Jilani, had taken to a life of retirement among the hills of Rajauri. The Rajah of the country waited on him and in course of time so adored the holy man as to offer him his maiden daughter. The saint accepted the virgin tribute, converted and wedded her, and thus became the father of a son and a daughter. Then he went on a pilgrimage to the holy land of Islam, where all trace of him was lost. The Rajah brought up his deserted grand-children as Hindus, keeping their parentage a secret. When Shah Jahan demanded from him a daughter of his house, the Rajah sent him this grand-daughter, who was noted for her beauty, goodness and intelligence. In the Imperial harem the girl was taught languages and culture by a set of masters, governesses, and Persian women versed in good manners, and in due time she was united to Prince Aurangzib. Such is one of the many conflicting accounts of the origin of Nawab Bai. Khafi Khan narrates it as mere hearsay,* and we may reject it as the invention of courtiers eager to flatter their master.†

* Khafi Khan, ii. 604.

† But there is nothing improbable in the story. In Bhimbhar, another district of Kashmir, Hindus and Muslims used to intermarry, and the wife, whatever might have

She built a *serai* at Fardapur, at the foot of the pass, and also founded Baijipura, a suburb of Aurangabad.* The misconduct of her sons, Muhammad Sultan and Muazzam, who disobeyed the Emperor under the influence of evil counsellors, embittered her latter life. Her advice and even personal entreaty had no effect on Muazzam,† who was at last placed under arrest. Nawab Bai seems to have lost her charms and with them her husband's favour rather early in life, and ended her days some time before the middle of 1691‡ at Delhi, after many years of separation from her husband and sons.

Another secondary wife was *Aurangabadi Mahal*, so named because she entered the Mughal harem in the city of Aurangabad. The bubonic plague carried her off in October or November 1688, at the city of Bijapur.§

been her father's creed, was burnt or buried as her husband happened to be a Hindu or Islamite. But in October, 1634, Shah Jahan forbade the custom and ordered that every Hindu who had taken a Muslim wife must either embrace Islam and be married anew to her, or he must give her up to be wedded to a Muslim. This order was rigorously enforced. (Abdul Hamid, I. B. 57).

* Khafi Khan, ii. 605.

† M. A. 101, 293, (and for Sultan) 30, 121.

‡ M. A. 343.

§ M. A. 318. Her tomb is thus described by Manucci. "The king caused a magnificent tomb to be erected to the

Her death removed the last rival of Aurangzib's youngest and best loved concubine, *Udipuri Mahal*, the mother of Kam Bakhsh. The contemporary Venetian traveller Manucci speaks of her as a Georgian slave-girl of Dara Shukoh's harem, who, on the downfall of her first master, became the concubine of his victorious rival.* She seems to have been a very young woman at the time, as she first became a mother in 1667, when Aurangzib was verging on fifty. She retained her youth and influence over the Emperor till his death, and was the darling of his old age. Under the spell of her beauty he pardoned the many faults of Kam Bakhsh and overlooked her freaks of drunkenness,† which must have shocked so pious a Muslim.‡

princess, provided with a dome of extraordinary height, the whole executed in marble brought expressly from the province of Ajmer." (*Storia*, iii. 269)

* Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*, i. 361, ii. 107.

† *Ibid*, ii. 107, 108.

‡ That Udipuri was a slave and no wedded wife is proved by Aurangzib's own words. When her son Kam Bakhsh intrigued with the enemy at the siege of Jinji, Aurangzib angrily remarked,—

'A slave-girl's son comes to no good,

Even though he may have been begotten by a king.' (*Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, § 25. He is also called 'a dancing-girl's son' (*Storia*, ii. 316n). Orme (*Fragments*, 85) speaks of her as a Circassian, evidently on the authority of Manucci. In a letter written by Aurangzib on his death-bed to Kam Bakhsh, he says "Udipuri, your

Besides the above four there was another woman whose supple grace, musical skill, and mastery of blandishments, made *Zainabadi*. her the heroine of the only romance in the puritan Emperor's life. Hira Bai surnamed *Zainabadi* was a young slave-girl in the keeping of Mir Khalil, who had married a sister of Aurangzib's mother. During his viceroyalty of the Deccan, the Prince paid a visit to his aunt at Burhanpur. There, while strolling in the park of Zainabad on the other side of the Tapti, he beheld Hira Bai unveiled among his aunt's train. The artful beauty "on seeing a mango-tree laden with fruits, advanced in mirth and amorous play, jumped up, and plucked a mango, as if unconscious of the prince's presence." The vision of her matchless charms stormed Aurangzib's heart in a moment; "with shameless importunity he took her away from his aunt's house and became utterly in-

mother, who has been with me during my illness, wishes to accompany [me in death]." From this expression Tod, (*Annals of Mewar*, Ch. XIII, *note*) infers, "Her desire to burn shews her to have been a Rajpoot." Such an inference is wrong, because a Hindu princess on marrying a Muslim king lost her caste and religion, and received Islamic burial. We read of no Rajputni of the harem of any of the Mughal emperors having burnt herself with her deceased husband, for the very good reason that a Muslim's corpse is buried and not burnt. Evidently Udipuri meant that she would kill herself in passionate grief on the death of Aurangzib.

fatuated with her." So much so, that one day she offered him a cup of wine and pressed him to drink it. All his entreaties and excuses were disregarded, and the helpless lover was about to taste the forbidden drink when the sly enchantress snatched away the cup from his lips and said, "My object was only to test your love for me, and not to make you fall into the sin of drinking!" Death cut the story short when she was still in the bloom of youth. Aurangzib bitterly grieved at her loss and buried her close to the big tank at Aurangabad.*

More than half a century afterwards, when this early love-passage had become
 How she was a mere memory, the following
 won, inaccurate version of it was recorded by Hamiduddin Khan, a favourite servant of the Emperor, in his *Anecdotes of Alamgir*. It is extremely amusing, as showing that the puritan in love was not above practising wiles to gain his end!

"When Aurangzib as Governor of the Deccan was going to Aurangabad, on arriving at Burhanpur...he went to visit his aunt. The Prince entered the house without announcing himself.

* *Masir-ul-Umara*, i. 790—792. Mir Khalil was posted to the Deccan shortly before Aurangzib's second viceroyalty began, so that the earliest possible date of the episode is 1653, when Aurangzib was 35 years old.

Hira Bai was standing under a tree, holding a branch with her right hand and singing in a low tone. Immediately after seeing her, the Prince helplessly sat down there, and then stretched himself at full length on the ground in a swoon. The news was carried to his aunt. She clasped him to her breast and began to wail and lament. After three or four *gharis* the Prince regained consciousness. However much she inquired about his condition, saying, 'What malady is it? Did you ever have it before?' the Prince gave no reply at all, but remained silent. At midnight he recovered his speech and said, 'If I mention my disease, can you apply the remedy?' She replied, 'What to speak of remedy? I shall offer my life itself to cure you!' Then the Prince unfolded the whole matter to her.....The aunt replied, 'You know the wretch, my husband. He is a bloody-minded man and does not care in the least for the Emperor Shah Jahan or for you. At the mere report of your desire for Hira Bai he will first murder her and then me. Telling him about your passion will do no other good.'

Next morning the Prince came back to his own quarters and discussed the case in detail with his confidant, Murshid Quli Khan, the Diwan of the Deccan. The Khan said, 'Let me

first despatch your uncle, and if anybody then slays me, there will be no harm, as in exchange of my life my master's work will be done.' Aurangzib forbade him to commit a manifest murder and turn his aunt into a widow... Murshid Quli Khan reported the whole conversation to the Prince's uncle, who exchanged Hira Bai for Chhattar Bai, a slave-girl of Aurangzib's harem."*

History records the name of a certain Dilárám, a hand-maid of Aurangzib's early life. But though she is described in the same terms as Aurangabadi Mahal, viz., *parastar-i-qadim-ul-khidmat*,† it appears from the context that she was not his mistress, but only a servant. Her daughter was married to an officer of the Emperor's bodyguard. On her tomb at Delhi the Emperor placed an inscribed stone in 1702, many years after her death.

Aurangzib had a numerous progeny. His principal wife, Dilras Banu Begam, bore him five children :

Aurangzib's
children

I. ZEB-UN-NISSA,‡ a daughter, born at Daula-

* *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, § 5.

† *M. A.* 465, 318.

‡ Abdul Hamid, ii. 22; Khafi Khan, i. 590; *MA.* 462, 538; *Rieu's British Museum Catalogue*, ii. 702b; *M. U.* ii. 828; *Makhsan-ul-Gharaib* by Ahmad Ali Sandilavi (1218

tabad, on 15th February, 1638, died at Delhi on 26th May, 1702, buried in the garden of 'Thirty Thousand Trees', outside the Kabuli gate. Her tomb was demolished to make room for a railway. But her coffin and inscribed tomb-stone are now in Akbar's mausoleum at Sikandra, where the epitaph can still be read.

She seems to have inherited her father's keenness of intellect and literary tastes. Educated by a lady named Hafiza Mariam she committed the *Quran* to memory, for which she received a reward of 30,000 gold-pieces from her delighted father. A mistress of Persian and Arabic, she wrote different kinds of hand with neatness and grace. Her library surpassed all other private collections, and she employed many scholars on liberal salaries to produce literary works at her bidding or to copy manuscripts for her. As Aurangzib disliked poetry, her liberality compensated for the lack of Court patronage, and most of the poets of the age sought refuge with her. Supported by her bounty, Mulla Safiuddin Ardbeli translated the Arabic *Great Commentary* under the title of *Zeb-ut-tafasir*, the authorship of which is vulgarly ascribed to his patroness. Other tracts and works also unjustly bear her

A. H.) Khuda Bakhsh MS., p. 312 ; *Gul-i-rana*, f. 119 ; Beale's *Oriental No. Dic.* ed. by Keene, p. 428.

name. She wrote Persian odes under the pen-name of *Makhfi* or the Concealed One. But the *Diwan-i-Makhfi* which is extant cannot with certainty be called her work, because this pseudonym was used by many other royal ladies, such as one of the wives of Akbar.

Scandal connected her name with that of Aqilmand Khan, a noble of her father's Court and a versifier of some repute in his own day.

2. ZINAT-UN-NISSA, afterwards surnamed Padishah Begam, born probably at Aurangabad, 5th October, 1643. She looked after her old father's household in the Deccan, for a quarter of a century till his death, and survived him many years, enjoying the respect of his successors as the living memorial of a great age. Historians speak of her piety and extensive charity.* She was buried in the Zinat-ul-masajid, a splendid mosque built (1700) at her expense in Delhi, but her grave was removed elsewhere by the British military authorities when they occupied the building.†

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 343; *M.A.* 539; Khafi Khan, ii. 30 (inspires a plot against the Syed brothers). She was alive in the reign of Farukhsiyar. (*Ibid.*, 736).

† Fanshawe's *Delhi: Past and Present*, 68. Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Reports*, I. 230, states, "The Zinat-ul-masajid, more commonly called the *Kuari Masjid* or 'Maiden's Mosque', because built by Zinat-un-nissa, the daughter of Aurangzib. The people have a tradition

3. ZUBDAT-UN-NISSA, born at Multan, 2nd September, 1651, married to her first cousin, Sipihr Shukoh (the second son of the ill-fated Dara Shukoh) on 30th January, 1673, died in February, 1707.*

4. MUHAMMAD AZAM, born at Burhanpur on 28th June, 1653, slain at Jajaw, in the war of succession following his father's death, 8th June, 1707.†

5. MUHAMMAD AKBAR, born at Aurangabad, on 11th September, 1657, died an exile in Persia about November, 1704.‡ Buried at Mashhad.

By Nawab Bai the Emperor had three children :

6. MUHAMMAD SULTAN, born near Mathura, 19th December, 1639, died in prison, 3rd December, 1676.§ Buried in the enclosure of Khawajah Qutbuddin's tomb.

7. MUHAMMAD MUAZZAM, surnamed Shah Alam, who succeeded his father as Bahadur Shah

that Zinat-un-nissa demanded the amount of her dowry from her father, and spent it in building this Mosque, instead of marrying."

* M.A. 540, 125, 154.

† Waris's *Padishahnamah*, 79b; M.A. 536.

‡ M. A. 547, 483. Kambu, 6b. But the *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* gives the date of his death as 31 March, 1706, New Style (*Storia*, iv. 257n).

§ Abdul Hamid, ii. 170; M.A. 534, 159-160.

I., born at Burhanpur on 4th October, 1643, died 18th February, 1712.*

8. BADR-UN-NISSA, born 17th November, 1647, died 9th April, 1670.† Of her we only know that she learnt the *Quran* by rote.

Aurangabadi Mahal bore to Aurangzib only one child :

9. MIHR-UN-NISSA, born 18th September, 1661, married to her first cousin Izid Bakhsh (a son of the murdered Murad Bakhsh) on 27th November, 1672, died in June, 1706.‡

Udipuri Mahal was the mother of

10. MUHAMMAD KAM BAKHSH, born at Delhi, 24th February, 1667, slain in the war of succession, near Haidarabad on 3rd January, 1709.§

We shall now resume the story of Aurangzib's career. His first viceroyalty of the Deccan which extended over eight years, ended strangely in his disgrace and dismissal.

On the night of 26th March, 1644, the princess Jahanara was coming from her father's chambers to her own in Agra fort, when her skirt fell on one

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 343 ; *M.A.* 534.

† *M.A.* 539-540, 100.

‡ *M.A.* 120, 515, 540.

§ *M.A.* 538. *Alamgirnamah*, 1031.

of the candles lighting the passage. As her robes were made of exquisitely fine muslin and were besides perfumed with *atar* and other essences, the flames wrapped her round in a moment. Her four maids flung themselves on her to smother the fire with their persons, but it spread to their own dress and they had to let go their hold in agony. By the time aid arrived and the fire was put out, the princess had been dreadfully burnt: her back, both sides, and arms were severely injured.*

She was the best loved child of Shah Jahan, and well did she deserve his affection. Ever since her mother's death, her care and forethought had saved him from domestic worries. Her sweetness of temper and gentleness of heart, even more than her mental accomplishments, soothed his mind in fatigue and anxiety, while her loving kindness healed all discords in the Imperial family, and spreading beyond the narrow circle of her kinsfolk made her the channel of the royal bounty to orphans, widows, and the poor. In the full blaze of prosperity and power her name was known in the land only for her bounty and graciousness. In adversity she rose to a nobler

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 363—369; Khafi Khan, i. 598—600.

eminence and became an Antigone to her captive father. Happier than the daughter of much-enduring Œdipus, she finally won her father's forgiveness for the son who had wronged him so cruelly. And after death the memory of her piety and meekness of spirit has been preserved by the lowliest epitaph ever placed on a prince's tomb. The stone records her last wish :

Cover not my grave save with green grass,
For such a covering alone befits the tomb of
the lowly in spirit.

Shah Jahan was in anguish at this accident.

Her treatment He was ever at her bed-side, for his hand must lay the medicine to her wounds, and hold the diet up to her lips. All but the most urgent State affairs were neglected ; the daily *darbar* was reduced to a sitting of a few minutes. Every physician of note from far and near was assembled for treating her. Vast sums were daily given away in charity to win Heaven's blessings on her. Every night a purse of Rs. 1000 was laid under her pillow, and next morning distributed to the beggars. Officials undergoing imprisonment for defalcation were set free, and their debts, amounting to seven *lakhs*, written off. Every evening Shah Jahan knelt down till midnight, weeping and imploring God for her recovery.

For four months she hovered between life and death. Indeed, there was little and recovery. hope of her recovery, as two of her maids, though less severely burnt, died in a few weeks. By a happy accident, the physician of the late king of Persia, who had fled from the wrath of his successor, reached Agra only twenty days after this mishap. His judicious medicines removed many of her attendant troubles, especially fever and weakness.

But both he and Hakim Mumana, the Physician Royal of Delhi, laboured in vain to heal her burns. Where the medical science of the age failed, quackery succeeded. A slave named Arif prepared an ointment which entirely healed her sores in two months.

On 25th November began a most splendid and costly festivity in celebration of her complete recovery.* Jahanara was given Rejoicing at it. jewels worth ten *lakhs* by her rejoicing father; every member of the household and every officer of the State received a gift on the joyous occasion; the beggars got two *lakhs*. The princes who had hastened to Agra on hearing of her accident, had their share of the Imperial bounty. But none of them was so great a gainer as Aurangzib, for, at

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 395—400.

her request he was restored to his father's favour and his former rank and office, which he had lost in the meantime.

Aurangzib had arrived at Agra on 2nd May to see his sister. Here three weeks afterwards he was suddenly dismissed from his post, and deprived of his rank and allowance. The reason as given by the historians is obscure. The Court annalist, Abdul Hamid Lahori, writes that Aurangzib was thus punished because "misled by the wicked counsels of his foolish companions, he wanted to take to the retired life of an ascetic, and had also done some acts which the Emperor disapproved of." Khafi Khan says that the Prince in order "to anticipate his father's punishment of his bad deeds, himself took off his sword and lived for some days as a hermit," for which he was dismissed. But neither of them describes the exact nature of his misconduct.*

From one of Aurangzib's letters we gather that he resigned his post as a protest against Dara's persistent hostility and Shah Jahan's partiality to his eldest son which robbed Aurangzib of the Emperor's confidence and support. The

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 373, 376: Khafi Khan, i. 600, and ii. 398.

Prince's recommendations were overridden and he was so often interfered with and trusted with so little power that his prestige was lowered in the public eye and he could not govern the Deccan consistently with self-respect or with any chance of doing good service. As he wrote indignantly to his sister Jahanara in 1654, when similar distrust and hostility were shown to him by the Court during his second viceroyalty: "If His Majesty wishes that of all his servants I alone should pass my life in dishonour and at last perish in an unbecoming manner, I have no help but to obey.....But as it is hard to live and die thus and I do not enjoy [his] grace, I cannot, for the sake of perishable earthly things, live in pain and grief, nor deliver myself up into the hands of others,—it is better that by order of His Majesty I should be released from the shame of such a life, so that harm may not be done to the good of the State and [other] hearts may be composed about this matter. Ten years before this I had realised this fact and known my life to be aimed at [by my rivals], and *therefore I had resigned my post*,... so that I might retire to a corner, cause no uneasiness to any body's heart, and be saved from such harassment."*

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 177a.

A literal interpretation of a Persian phrase* has given rise in some English histories to the myth that young Aurangzib turned hermit in a fit of religious devotion. The fact is that at this time he felt no religious call at all; his motive was political, not spiritual: he merely resigned his office, but did not actually take to a hermit's life. Under the Mughals, every officer, civil or military, had to hold a rank in the army and wear the sword as a part of his full dress. Hence, laying the sword aside from one's belt was a visible symbol of resignation.

If we may trust the gossip anecdotes compiled in Aurangzib's old age by Quarrel with Hamiduddin Khan Nimchah, Dara, the Prince's disgrace was the outcome of his open jealousy of Dara Shukoh, his eldest brother and the intended heir to the throne. It is narrated that Dara invited his father and three brothers to see his newly built mansion at Agra. It was summer, and the party was taken to a cool underground room border-

* "Turning recluse" (*mansavi ikhtiar kardan*) is a phrase commonly used in the Persian histories of India to mean the laying down of (military) rank, office, and uniform in such a manner as not to imply a defiance of the Emperor's wishes. We often read how an officer under Imperial displeasure who had "turned hermit" in this sense, was afterwards reinstated in his rank and office on recovering his master's grace.

ing on the river, with only one door leading into it. The others entered, but Aurangzib sat down in the doorway. To all inquiries of Shah Jahan about the reason of his strange conduct he gave no reply. For this act of disobedience he was forbidden the Court. After spending seven months in disgrace, he told Jahanara that as the room had only one entrance he had feared lest Dara should close it and murder his father and brothers to clear his own way to the throne. To prevent any such attempt Aurangzib had (he said) occupied the door as a sentinel! On learning this Shah Jahan restored

him to his favour. But it was

He is reinstated. impossible to keep Aurangzib at Court with Dara, whom he hated so bitterly and suspected so cruelly.* Therefore on 16th February, 1645, he was sent off to Guzerat as Governor.† His viceroyalty of this province ended in January, 1647, when he was appointed to Balkh. But, even in this brief period of less than two years he showed his administrative capacity and firmness.

Of all the provinces of the Mughal empire,

* *Anecdotes of Aurangzib* § 2.

† Abdul Hamid, ii. 411.

Guzerat was the most turbulent. A land subject to frequent droughts and a soil mostly of sand or stone yielded a poor and precarious harvest to reward the labour of man in many parts of the province. All its ardent spirits naturally turned from the thankless task of tilling the soil, to the more profitable business of plundering their weaker and richer brethren. Robbery was the hereditary and time-honoured occupation of several tribes, such as the Kulis and the Kathis, who covered the land from Jhalor to the sea.* The Guzerati artisans, whose fame was world-wide, flourished in the cities under shelter of the walls. But the roads were unsafe to trader and traveller alike. The prevailing lawlessness added to the misery of the peasants and the poverty of the land by discouraging industry and accumulation of wealth. Any rebel or bandit leader could in a few days raise a large body of fighters by the promise of plunder, and if he was only swift enough in evading pitched battles with the forces of Government, he could keep the whole country in a state of constant alarm and disturbance. Thus did the Mirzas violate public peace in Guzerat for a full generation in Akbar's reign.

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 231.

Many a pretender to the throne of Delhi gathered formidable military support here. Indeed, Guzerat bore the evil title of *lashkar-khez*, or a land 'bristling with soldiers.'*

Such a province ever required a strong hand to govern it. A former viceroy, Azam Khan, (1635—41), had vigorously punished the robber tribes, built forts in their midst to maintain order, and forced the ruler of Nawánagar, to promise tribute and obedience to the Imperial Government.† For a time the roads became safe, and the land enjoyed unwonted peace.

Aurangzib, too, followed an active and firm policy towards the robber tribes and rebels of Guzerat. In order to check them

Aurangzib's
strong rule.

effectually he engaged soldiers in excess of the men whom he was bound by his present rank as a *mansabdar* to keep. The Emperor, pleased to hear of this ardent spirit of duty, gave him a promotion, raising his salary to sixty lakhs of rupees a year (8th June, 1646).‡ He thus established in his father's eyes a reputation for capacity and courage, and it was not long before he was called

* *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*, (A. S. B. MS. E. 27), 87a, 107a.

† Abdul Hamid, ii. 231-232.

‡ Abdul Hamid, ii. 510, 715.

away to a far-off scene where there was supreme need of these qualities.

On 4th September, Shah Jahan wrote to him to come away from Guzerat, after making over the Government to Shaista Khan. Summoned by The Prince met his father at the Emperor. Lahore on 20th January, 1649, and was next day created Governor and Commander-in-chief of Balkh and Badakhshan. Three weeks later he was sent off to his distant and dangerous charge.*

* *Ibid*, 583, 625, 627, 532.

CHAPTER V.

THE WAR IN CENTRAL ASIA, 1647.

To the north of Kabul the Hindu Kush mountain range running north-east and the Oxus river flowing westwards enclose between them two provinces, Balkh and Badakhshan. The eastern half, Badakhshan, is a mere succession of ridges and valleys, with a scanty population and scattered patches of cultivation. The mines of ruby and turquoise which once gave it fame throughout the eastern world, now yield very little. It is a province thrust into a forgotten nook of the world, and hemmed in by fierce mountain tribes; the squalor and poverty of its people is equalled only by their ignorance and helplessness.*

Balkh is a more open and fertile country. Irrigation canals and numerous streams have given its favoured

* Leyden's *Memoirs of Babar* (ed. 1826), xxix, Wood's *Journey to the Source of the Oxus* (ed. 1872), lxxv—lxxix, 171, 206, 191.

tracts abundance of agricultural wealth, both of crops and fruits. Its rivers descending from the Hindu Kush form fertile valleys which grow broader and broader as they wind northwards to the Oxus. The hills are mostly bare and arid.* Now and then sandstorms from the western desert sweep over the face of the land.

On the south it is separated from Afghanistan by lofty mountains, wide plateaus, and narrow passes.† But its northern boundary, the Oxus river, presents no such natural barrier to an invader, and nomadic hordes from Central Asia have in every age crossed the river and overrun the land. In the southern hills from Kabul to Herat live predatory tribes, the Hazarahs and Aimaks,‡ hungrily watching for a chance to cut off travellers and traders in the passes or to swoop down upon the flourishing hamlets and orchards of the lowlands near the Oxus in the rear of some foreign invader. Against a regular army their hardiness and ferocity were rendered unavailing by their primitive savagery, ignorance,

* Leyden, xxx; Wood's *Journey*, lxvii, 175, 257; Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*, 208.

† For the passes leading northwards into Balkh, see Leyden, 139, 199; Wood's *Journey*, lxiv; Abdul Hamid's *Padishahnamah*, ii. 668—670.

‡ Wood, 127, Elias & Ross, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Intro. 91, Vambery's *Travels in Central Asia*, 263.

and lack of organisation. But through the south-western corner, which touches Khurasan, the stream of civilisation has flowed into Balkh. By this path came the Persian, the Greek and the Arab, and each has left his stamp on the culture of the conquered people.*

Placed between two powerful neighbours it has been the fate of Balkh to be the scene of conquest and plunder age after age since the dawn of history; its people have been relieved of masters from the south or west only by fiercer masters from the north; their ancient culture and learning, which boasted of a Hellenistic origin, had been all but trodden out under the iron heels of Chenghiz Khan.† Their cities were now in ruin and their wealth destroyed beyond hope of recovery.

Besides the wild robbers of the southern mountains and the tame cultivators of the northern lowlands, there was a third element of the population,—“primitive nomads who occupied tracts of barren steppe land, and drove their flocks from hill to valley and valley to hill, in search of pasture according to season.”‡

* Vambery's *Travels*, 233, 239; Elias & Ross, Intro. 82, 107; Skrine & Ross's *Heart of Asia*, 6, 30, 38, 76, 131.

† Wood, lxi, lxxvii, 155, 162; Vambery's *Travels*, 233, 244; Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys*, 207.

‡ Elias & Ross, Intro 31.

A land of this nature could support but a small population, and was too poor to maintain an army on its own produce. The salaried troops of the king of Balkh numbered only 3000 men, and his revenue (including that yielded by Badakhshan) was only 25 *lakhs* of rupees,—the stipend of a third-rate peer of the Mughal empire, as the Delhi historian has noted with contempt. His chief minister was paid only Rs. 80,000 a year.*

Poor as were the resources of the country and tame as were the men of its plains, an invader from the south found it hard to keep hold of his conquest. He had to guard his own communications with the rear over the long and difficult passes of the Hindu Kush. But numberless hordes of savage horsemen, the Mongols and Turkomans, came from beyond the Oxus to oppose him, burning crops and villages, carrying off the loyal peasantry into slavery, hovering round his army on the march, cutting off detachments and stragglers, and when chased maintaining a Parthian fight. Indeed, his camp was ever in a state of siege. On them he could make no successful reprisal, deal no

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 542-543.

crushing blow which might win for him peace and the growth of revenue. The enemy had "no forts or towns or immovable property, worthy of the name, for an invader to destroy, and no stationary population, left undefended, upon whom he might wreak his vengeance.....Mobility must have been the quality they relied on more than any other, both in attack and retreat, and we find them baffling their enemies more by their movements than by their fighting power."* When reduced to the worst, they fled across the Oxus to their homes. Mughal troops who had served in the Deccan, immediately noted that the Uzbaks fought like the Marathas but were far more hardy.†

Savage and uncouth as the Uzbaks were, they had at least the faith of Islam
Tartar raiders. in common with their foemen from India. But the Turkoman tribes (miscalled Alamans) were worse still. They had not yet accepted the creed of Muhammad, but clung to their old heathenism.‡ Plunder was their sole livelihood. In their forays they burnt the Quran

* Elias & Ross, Intro. 55.

† Abdul Hamid, ii. 705.

‡ *Alaman* is a Tartar word meaning 'a predatory expedition' (Vambery, 317.) The historian Abdul Hamid took it to be the name of a Tartar tribe, whose manners he describes in ii. 619 and 453.

and massacred holymen and children with as little pity as they showed to fighting foemen. In one place, they shut up in a mosque and roasted alive a pious darvish and 400 school-boys whom he had led in a procession to entreat their mercy. Similar atrocities were committed by them elsewhere. These ferocious robbers were not hampered in their marches by any baggage or provisions ; the coarsest food sufficed for them. The deepest rivers they crossed by swimming their horses, in a long line, the bridle of one being fastened to the tail of another, while the saddles, which were mere bundles of sticks, could not be damaged by water. The men crossed on rafts made from the reeds that grew plentifully on the river bank. The horses, as hardy as their riders, lived on the wild wormwood of the steppe and yet covered a hundred miles a day. From Bukhara beyond the Oxus their forays extended to Khurasan, and the well-mounted Persian cavalry could not overtake them.

For many centuries Balkh, with its adjunct of Badakhshan, had been a dependency of Bukhara, and was governed by a viceroy (often a prince of the blood) and garrisoned by the fierce and hardy Scythians from beyond the Oxus.* Early in the seventeenth century, the

* Skrine & Ross, 160, 192.

wise and good Imam Quli Khan, of the Astrakhan-ide dynasty, adorned the throne of Bukhara for 32 years, and when in 1642 age and infirmity induced him to leave his weeping subjects for monastic repose in Medina, his younger brother

Nazar Muhammad succeeded to the throne.* The new Khan had governed the family appanage of Balkh during his

brother's reign. As a ruler of Bukhara he was a failure. Its climate disagreed with him after his forty years' residence in the more genial soil of Balkh; his extreme avarice and niggardliness alienated his generals. Yet his ambition led him to annex Khwarizm. The Uzbaks began to hate him for his jealous policy of withdrawing all power from their leaders and doing everything himself. A man without discretion or force of character, he openly taxed his chiefs with what backbiters had told him about them. The army seethed with discontent at his reduction of their allowances, seizure of pastures, and resumption of grants of rent-free land.†

* Skrine & Ross, 194—199. Vambery's *History of Bukhara*, 304—333; Abdul Hamid, ii. 251—256; Skrine has *Nasir* instead of *Nazar*. Howorth's *History of the Mongols*, Pt. II. Div. ii. 747-752 (has *Nadir* for *Nazar*.)

† Abdul Hamid, ii. 435—442.

So the Bukhara troops mutinied and proclaimed as king his eldest son Abdul Aziz, who was in their midst as his father's viceroy, (17 April, 1645). Rebellion immediately broke out in many other parts of his vast and diverse territory, and savage hordes roamed over the country to take advantage of the disorder by plundering. At last the helpless father had to make peace by yielding Trans-oxiana to his rebel son and retaining Balkh and Badakhshan for himself.* But meantime a new combatant had stepped into the arena; Shah Jahan had invaded Badakhshan.

It is difficult to see what drew him into the war, unless it was greed of conquest. True, Nazar Muhammad Khan had not been a good neighbour.

Shah Jahan's
desire to conquer
Balkh.

Eighteen years ago, on the death of Jahangir, he had invaded Afghanistan, besieged Kabul (29 May, 1628), and fled back precipitately at the approach of Mughal troops.† But this raid had been forgiven, and since then there had been an exchange of friendly messages and embassies between him and the Emperor of Delhi. Even recently when the Mughal forces were massed in Afghanistan for operations near

* *Ibid.*, ii. 443—456.

† Abdul Hamid, I. A. 206—214.

Qandahar and Imam Quli had feared lest his country should be invaded by them, Shah Jahan had assured him that he would be left in peace.* That rebels from Afghanistan were harboured in Balkh† could not have been a cause of war, because it has always been recognised among eastern kings as a sacred duty to give asylum to suppliants. The Afghan frontier was exposed to private raids by Nazar Muhammad's subjects, but these could not have extended far, and must have been looked upon as common incidents in that debateable land from time immemorial. The Court historian Abdul Hamid is, therefore, right when he says that Shah Jahan determined to conquer Balkh and Badakhshan, "because they were the heritage of Babar and also lay in the way to Samarqand, the capital of Timur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty." The civil war in Balkh supplied him with an opportunity for carrying out his long-cherished scheme.‡

But if Shah Jahan really hoped to conquer and rule Central Asia with a force from India, we must conclude that the prosperity of his reign

Folly of the attempt.

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 152.

† *Ibid.* ii. 13, 528, 529.

‡ *Ibid.* ii. 482-483. Howorth, 752. ("Nadir appealed to Shah-jihan for assistance, who greedily seized the opportunity.")

and the flattery of his courtiers had turned his head, and that he was dreaming the vainest of vain dreams. The Indian troops detested service in that far-off land of hill and desert, which could supply no rich booty, no fertile fief, and no decent house to live in. The occupation of that poor inhospitable and savage country meant only banishment from home and comfort and ceaseless fight and watching against a tireless and slippery enemy. The finest troops might be worn out and the richest treasury exhausted in the attempt to keep hold of such a country, and no gain either in glory or wealth was to be expected. Poor as the revenue of the new conquest was at the best of times, the Mughals during their two years of occupation could collect only one half and one-fourth respectively of this small sum,* while their war expenses were sixteen times as high!

A Mughal officer began the war by marching with a force from Ghorband, on the northern frontier of Afghanistan, and capturing the fort of Kahmard (June, 1645). But he soon abandoned it to the enemy.† Shah Jahan disapproved both of the capture and of the abandonment as unwise, and turned his immediate attention to the

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 54 & 666. *M. U.* i. 488.

† *Ibid.*, 457—459.

conquest of Badakhshan. A strong reconnoitring force moved rapidly north-east from Kabul across the Hindu Kush and along the Panjshir river basin. On its return after examining the Parwan and Tul passes which lead into southern Badakhshan, he sent a large body of sappers to make a road. Rajah Jagat Singh took upon himself the task of conquest, advanced from Kabul (15 Oct., 1645) with a large Rajput contingent, conquered the Khosht district and built a wooden fort between the Sarab and the Andarab. Thence he returned to Afghanistan by the Panjshir valley (4 Nov.).* But the Rajput garrison left by him gallantly held the stockade and beat the Uzbaks back from its walls time after time.

The way being thus cleared, the grand campaign began next summer. In June, 1646 Murad Bakhsh, the youngest son of the Emperor, led 50,000 men into southern Badakhshan by the Tul pass. With him went Ali Mardan Khan, the premier noble, a Persian of rare genius and ability who had left the Shah's service to adorn the Court of Delhi. Marching by way of the Sarab and Deh-i-Tajikan, they reached Narin, whence a detachment under Asalat Khan pushed

* *Ibid.*, 462—466.

on and took possession of the fort of Qunduz on the north-eastern border of Balkh (22 June). The Prince met with no opposition and entered the city of Balkh on 2nd July, 1646. The natives gazed with wonder at the Indian army with its huge elephants covered with cloth of gold and silver plates, steeds with bridles set with precious metals, troopers clad in cuirass embossed with gold and gems, endless columns of musketeers and sappers, and gorgeous standards and drums.* Such a display of wealth and pomp they had never seen before. Shah Jahan had written to Nazar Muhammad Khan offering to leave Balkh to him if he remained friendly. The Khan had answered by professing submission. But on Murad's arrival at Balkh he doubted the Emperor's sincerity, feared a stratagem, and at night took his flight from his capital towards Persia. His fabulous wealth, hoarded for so many years and estimated at 70 lakhs of rupees, was mostly plundered by his followers and subjects, and the victorious Mughals could seize only 12 lakhs in cash and kind, besides 2500 horses and 300 camels. Asalat Khan and Bahadur Khan went in pursuit, but were too late to capture him.†

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 483—488, 512—537.

† Abdul Hamid, ii. 529—534, 539—541, 548—553.

The country was conquered without a blow, but Murad was already sick of it. In his very first letter to the Emperor he begged hard to be recalled, and he continued to press the request ever after, in spite of repeated refusal. Most of his officers were no less eager to return to the pleasant land of Hindustan and escape from the dull and uncongenial soil of Balkh. This news disheartened and distracted the loyal peasantry, and the Mughal soldiers, too, got out of hand and took to plundering*.

The matter soon came to a crisis. The infatuated Prince, then only 22 years of age, wanted to return home without permission, leaving Bahadur Khan in charge. The Mughal army of occupation, left without a supreme leader, would have been placed in a perilous condition. At Shah Jahan's command the *wazir* Sadullah Khan hastened to Balkh (10th August), tried to move Murad from his foolish purpose, and on his refusal removed him from the command. Arrangements were made for the new government; the army was distributed under different generals and stationed at important centres to keep hold of the country.

* *Ibid.* ii. 557—559.

Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan were left in Balkh as joint viceroys, and Qalich Khan in Badakhshan. After 22 days of hard toil, the great *wazir* finished his task and returned to Kabul by a rapid ride of four days only (6 September).* The Prince, who had preceded him, was disgraced, deprived of his rank and government, and forbidden the Court.†

The Mughal outposts were exposed to attack from the Uzbaks, and many of them lived in a state of siege, fighting frequent but indecisive skirmishes with the enemy. All waited for the arrival of a supreme commander and reinforcements at the end of winter.‡

During the recess the Emperor made grand preparations for opening the

Preparations for
renewing the war.

campaign in the spring of 1647.

His sons Shuja and Aurangzib were called up from their provinces, large sums of money were conveyed to Afghanistan, and troops were massed at convenient stations from Peshawar to Kabul, in readiness to move at the first order.§

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 560—565, 584.

† *Ibid.*, 579.

‡ *Ibid.*, 566—571, 614—618, 620—624, 626, 642—657.

§ *Ibid.*, 603, 633, 641—642.

Aurangzib was in his government of Guzerat when he received his father's letter, dated 4th September 1646, ordering him to come away after leaving Shaista Khan, the governor of Malwa, in his place. On 20th January, 1647, he arrived at Lahore with his two eldest sons and had audience of the Emperor. Next day the provinces of Balkh and Badakhshan were conferred on him, with 50 lakhs of rupees for his expenses. On 10th February he took his leave with a present of 5 lakhs of rupees, and advanced to Peshawar, where he was to halt till the spring.* Thence he reached Kabul on 3rd April, and set out for the seat of war four days afterwards. Ali Mardan Khan accompanied him as his chief adviser and right hand man, and no better selection could have been made.†

But from the very beginning Aurangzib was handicapped by the smallness of his fighting force. Last year Murad had marched into Balkh with 50,000 men, but after the conquest a part of the army had been recalled. Of the remaining troops many were in garrison at the various

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 583, 625—628, 632.

† *Ibid*, 670, 671.

forts or guarding the line of communication with the base in Afghanistan. High officers in full strength held important districts like Taliqan and Qunduz in the east, Rustaq in the north-east, Balkh, Tarmiz on the Oxus, north of Balkh, Maimana in the south-west, and Andkhui in the north-west. Aurangzib wisely kept them at their posts, lest the country should pass out of his control. But this step weakened his own immediate command.

The enemy's
strength.

Some of the Indian nobles under orders to join him lingered at home or reached no further than Afghanistan. So the Prince had to fight his battles with less than 25,000 men, while the enemy were a nation in arms and outnumbered the Mughals as three to one.* True they did not fight pitched battles and had a wholesome dread of musketry-fire; but their "Cossak tactics" wore out the Mughals, and their superiority in number enabled them to bear easily a loss ten times as large as the casualties of the invaders. Against these light forayers the small Imperial army could not hope for a crushing victory.†

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 702—704. Khafi Khan computes his force at 35,000 and the Uzbek army at 1,20,000 men. (i. 671.)

† Abdul Hamid, ii. 704, 705.

After leaving Kabul, 7th April 1647, Aurangzib marched by the Shibur Pass and Aq Rabat to Kahmard, which was a half-way depot of the invaders. Thence the road to Balkh runs over a tableland, through which winds the Dehas river with its narrow valley called the Derah-i-Gaz. Here the Uzbaks assembled in force under Qutluq Muhammad to dispute the passage. The Prince sent a reconnoitring force of 500 men under Khalil Beg, who charged the enemy, regardless of the odds against him. On hearing of his dangerous plight the Vanguard, mostly composed of Rajputs and a force of musketeers, was pushed up. The Uzbaks fled, but only to take post further off (20th May).*

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 671—673. Aurangzib advanced from Kabul by the *Abdarah* and *Gaz* passes, according to the Persian account. Yule takes *Abdarah* to be the upper valley of the Surkhab, below Zohak (Wood's *Journey*, LXV). This was therefore "the *Shibr* Pass, which was most commonly used by Baber." (Leyden, 139). Aurangzib's stages are thus named: Kabul—(by way of Ghorband) to Aq Rabat (two stages from Kahmard)—Bajgah—the pass of Badar Hamid (?=Babar's "*Madr* on the Khulm road"),—Kishan Deh Khurd—Puni (or Buni) Qara ('which is the beginning of the valley of Gaz')—Balkh. He seems to have marched from Kabul northwards to Charikar, thence westwards by way of Ghorband to Zohak and Bamian, next northwards across the Dandan-Shikan Pass to Kahmard or even to Qara Kotal, whence he turned northwest to the mouth of the valley of Gaz (crossing one affluent of the Dehas river on the way). The entire route from Kabul to Balkh city is spoken of as 123 *kos* or 246 miles, (Abd. Ham. ii. 669).

Next day, Aurangzib led the main army by the eastern bank, while Ali Mardan Khan was sent with the Van across the two upper affluents of the Dehas to dislodge a strong body of the enemy from the hills and ravines that crossed the path.

The front division of the Mughal army, as it issued from a defile, was attacked by the Uzbaks and suffered some loss; but the wings soon came up and broke the enemy's centre. The battle now became general. Ali Mardan Khan drove the enemy from the field and from some hillocks behind it, chased them for four miles over broken ground, and returned to camp with some wounded prisoners. This was Aurangzib's first victory in Balkh.

The city of Balkh was reached without further opposition (25th May). Madhu Singh Hada was left in command of the fort, and the leading citizens were detained in custody in Aurangzib's camp to prevent them from making mischief.* Reinforcements in men and money continued to arrive from Kabul, where Shah Jahan himself was present.†

At the head of the Bukhara national defence

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 673—675, 686—687.

† *Ibid*, 680, 681, 684, 685.

stood Abdul Aziz Khan, the eldest son and supplanter of the weak king Nazar Muhammad. He now sent another army under Beg Ughli across the Oxus river to Aqcha, 40 miles north-west of Balkh. Here the fugitives from the pass of Gaz, under Qutluq Muhammad, joined the new arrivals.*

After a three days' halt at Balkh, Aurangzib left his baggage there in charge of his eldest son, and set out with light kit towards Aqcha to meet the assembled Uzbaks. The Imperial army moved with great caution, Bahadur Khan leading the Van, Aurangzib seated on an elephant commanding the Centre which enclosed in its bosom the baggage and camp followers, and Ali Mardan Khan bringing up the Rear. The artillery supported by foot musketeers cleared the line of advance. The Uzbek squadrons charged repeatedly but only to be broken and driven back. They formed again at a safe distance and took advantage of the many canals and gardens of the region to obstruct the Imperialists, who steadily advanced to Timurabad (2nd June).†

* *Ibid*, 686.

† *Ibid*, 687-688.

Hardly had the wearied force of Aurangzib dismounted at their camp here, when the Uzbaks attacked them from all sides. After a harassing fight they succeeded in driving the enemy back in front and right, and Ali Mardan Khan with the Rear went in pursuit and plundered the camp of Qutluq Muhammad. But the Mughal left wing was weak in number and its leader Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang was an old man in bad health. The enemy quickly discovered this weak spot, and their troops, repulsed at other points, flocked here to swell the attack. Said Khan sent a detachment of 400 men to hold a stream which skirted the camp and to prevent the enemy from crossing it. But a clever ruse of the Uzbaks lured the indiscreet Mughals to the other bank, where they were surrounded and almost exterminated by the mobile enemy. Said Khan sent up reinforcements and at last himself marched out in spite of his illness. But he was wounded and thrown down from his horse, and his two sons were slain with many other soldiers. Just then Aurangzib arrived to succour the hard-pressed division. Two furious elephants were driven before him, and his soldiers rushed into the lane that was thus cleared. The enemy

were routed and the left wing saved from extinction.*

The Second of June was a terrible day for the Imperialists. They had marched from dawn to midday and then got no rest in their camp, but had to fight incessantly till sunset before they could gain the much needed safety and repose. Ali Mardan Khan now returned with the victorious Rear. The camp was entrenched and carefully guarded, many of the captains doing patrol duty all night, without dismounting.

Next day the tired soldiers and their chief alike wished to halt. But under Ali
Uzbek Camp captured. Mardan's wise advice they advanced to seize Beg Ughli's base and reap the utmost fruit of their victory. The Uzbaks as usual hovered round the marching army and kept up a running fight. Thanks to their superior mobility, they could attack or retreat as they chose. Leaving screens at safe distances on the Right and Left, their massed troops fell on the Van, but only to be shattered by the Mughal artillery. The same tactics were repeated against the Rear, but with no better success. The march continued, the enemy seizing every disorder or weakness

* *Ibid*, 688—692; Khafi Khan says that this encounter took place next morning (i. 662).

to come closer and gall the Imperialists with showers of arrows. But the Scythian militia was no match for regular troops, and their general's camp at Pashai was seized by Aurangzib, and the peasantry whom they had carried off into captivity were released.*

After two days of march and fighting the Prince could no longer deny his troops a halt. Meantime the baffled enemy slipped away from his front to his rear at Aliabad. Another large army arrived from Bukhara under Prince Subhan Quli, evidently to attack the city of Balkh.†

The news made Aurangzib beat a retreat from Pashai (5th June) and hasten eastwards to defend the capital. **Retreat to Balkh.** The enemy became more aggressive than before, and at two places penetrated into his camp for a time.‡ Artillery, rockets, and muskets alone could keep their hordes at a safe distance. Next day he turned a little aside to Shaikhabad to release two of his officers who were invested in a

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 692—694.

† The following points in Aurangzib's advance from Balkh are mentioned : Yulbugha (near some canals)—Aliabad—Timurabad, 'one kos from Fatihabad'—Pashai in the district of Aqcha.

‡ Khafi Khan (i. 668) says that three or four thousand Uzbaks dashed into the Mughal camp, and carried off many camels loaded with baggage and many women and children of the Mughal troops. Ali Mardan Khan recovered only a little of the booty.

garden. Thence he marched towards Faizabad on the Balkháb river.*

On the 7th the situation grew worse. The Bukhara army put forth a ^{Grand battle} ^{with the Uzbaks.} supreme effort. It was now in full strength. Its highest commanders, Abdul Aziz the king, Subhan Quli his brother, and Beg Ughli the Uzbek chieftain, were all present, and directed the attack on three points of the Imperial army. But again musketry and superior discipline gave the Mughals the victory. The retreat continued till the 9th with the usual ineffective molestation from an enemy that lacked fire arms, and whose arrows were powerless except in a close encounter. At last in the evening of the 9th the Bukhara king demanded a parley and sent a friendly message. The Mughals were not molested during the next two days, and they reached Balkh in peace on 11th June.†

This march towards Aqcha and retreat to Balkh had taken up ten days, ^{Hardships of} ^{the Mughals.} during which the Mughal army had been a stranger to repose.

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 694—697.

† Abdul Hamid, ii. 697—701. The following points in Aurangzib's retreat from Pashai are named in the Persian history: Aliabad—digression to Shaikhabad—Faizabad on the Balkhab River—Yanki Ariq—Bridge of Dost Beg (on the Balkhab?)—Naharab or canal—Yandarak—Balkh city.

Day after day a strenuous fight had to be maintained against the tireless and mobile enemy, while hunger raged in the Imperial ranks. The soldiers were ever on the move, and food could be cooked only on the backs of the marching elephants ! Bread sold at one rupee or even two rupees a piece and water was equally dear. Happy were those who could get the necessaries of life even at this price, for there was not enough for all. Such was the condition of the Prince's personal following. The lot of the common soldiers may be imagined. But in the midst of all this hardship and danger, Aurangzib's firmness and control prevented any slackness or disorder ; his watchful eye and active body hastened to the succour of every weak spot, and his wisdom and courage brought the army back to safety.*

Evil as was the plight of the Mughal army, the enemy were worse off.

*Aurangzib's
splendid courage.*

Aurangzib's grim tenacity had gained its object. Abdul Aziz now desired to make peace. His hope of crushing Aurangzib had failed. He had personally witnessed a striking proof of the Prince's cool courage ; for, one day the hour of evening prayer

* Khafi Khan, i. 668 and 669. Howorth (752) says, "The devastation caused such a famine that an ass's load of corn cost 1000 florins."

arrived when the battle was at its hottest; Aurangzib spread his carpet on the field, knelt down and calmly said his prayers, regardless of the strife and din around him. He was then, as during the rest of the campaign, without armour and shield. The Bukhara army gazed on the scene with wonder, and Abdul Aziz, in generous admiration, stopped the fight, crying, "To fight with such a man is to court one's own ruin."*

The Bukhara king could no longer pay and keep his vast host together. The Uzbek army melts away. The hope of an easy plunder of the Imperialists had brought his men together. That design having failed they were eager to return home. The Turkomans in particular sold their horses to the Imperial army and decamped across the Oxus.†

Abdul Aziz proposed that Balkh should be delivered to his younger brother Subhan Quli, as Shah Jahan had publicly offered to restore the country to their father. Aurangzib referred the question to the Emperor, and Abdul Aziz left the neighbourhood of Balkh, and from Khulm turned sharply to the north, crossing the

* *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 531; Abdul Hamid, ii. 704.

† Abdul Hamid, ii. 701 & 702, 708.

Oxus at Aiwanj on inflated skins, his soldiers following his example wherever they could.* The historian Abdul Hamid has blamed Aurangzib for not immediately giving chase and killing or capturing Abdul Aziz.† But he forgets that the Uzbek war was a national rising and did not depend on any individual leader, even when that leader was a powerful and able prince like Abdul Aziz Khan.

The war was now practically over, at least for a season. But a settlement ^{Mughal army} ^{sick of Balkh.} was still far off. Shah Jahan had no doubt decided to give the country back to Nazar Muhammad Khan, but that king must first offer submission and beg pardon before Imperial prestige could be satisfied. Meantime in the Mughal army officers and men alike were sick of their exile and longed to return home. High commanders like Bahadur Khan secretly thwarted Aurangzib, fearing that if they captured the king of Bukhara, the Emperor would annex Transoxiana and leave the Indian troops in permanent garrison there, while the failure of the expedition would lead to their speedy return home! The country had been devastated by the Turkoman freebooters, the

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 700, 706 & 707.

† Abdul Hamid, ii. 709.

crops burnt, and the peasantry robbed or dragged away. Aurangzib, therefore, wrote to his father that he could do no good by staying there.*

Soon after the Prince's return to Balkh about the middle of June, negotiations had been opened by Nazar Muhammad ^{prolongs} negotiations. Muhammad, then in refuge at Belchiragh.† But three months were wasted in a fruitless exchange of messages and vain attempts to allay the ex-king's suspicions of treachery if he interviewed Aurangzib. He demanded this fort and that as a security, and on 13th September sent Qafsh, the Qalmaq chieftain, as his agent to Aurangzib. On the 23rd, he sent his grandsons to the Prince, excusing himself on the ground of illness.‡

With this Aurangzib had to be contented, as the winter was fast approaching. The passes of the Hindu Kush would be soon closed by snow. His army was faced with starvation, as grain was selling in Balkh at ten rupees a *maund*. They had no winter quarters in that poor and desolate country.

* Waris, 3b, 4a.

† For Nazar Muhammad's adventures in Persia and after his return, see Abdul Hamid, ii. 658—668.

‡ Waris, 6b, 7a.

Already tribes of Turks and "Alamans" had recrossed the Oxus and begun to cut off small parties of the Mughals. Aurangzib, as his officers urged, had no time to lose ; he could not even wait for the Emperor's consent. So at last, on 1st October, 1647, he formally delivered the city and fort of Balkh to Nazar Muhammad's grandsons. His distant garrisons fell back on him at the rumour of peace, without waiting for his order.*

On 3rd October the Mughal army marched from the plain outside Balkh and began its retreat to Kabul. Ali Mardan Khan and Rajah Jai Singh commanded the Right and Left wings, and Bahadur Khan the Rear. The artillery accompanied the Van. The pass of Ghazniyak was crossed slowly and painfully, the enemy harassing them from the rear and boldly falling upon them at their least disorder or difficulty. Ghorī was reached on 14th October, the Uzbaks still hanging on the tail of the retreating force. Shah Jahan had wished to retain this fort and Kahmard as the southern gates of Balkh, but his officers refused to stay there.†

* Waris, 7b.

† Waris, 8a.

The retreat continued. The wild hillmen called Hazarahs now took the place of the Uzbaks in harassing and plundering the Mughals.

Sufferings in
crossing the
Hindu Kush.

The winter of that year set in very early and with unusual severity.* The Imperialists, encumbered with 10 lakhs of rupees but having few transport animals and porters, toiled slowly and painfully through a narrow and steep pass east of the Surkhab river (21st and 22nd October) and the hardened ice on the Hindu Kush (24th October). South of these mountains lay Afghanistan and safety, and Aurangzib could now hasten in advance to Kabul, which he reached on the 27th.† Ali Mardan Khan too crossed with ease. But the rest of the army, especially the Rajputs under Jai Singh, the treasure-escort under Zulqadar Khan, the stores, and the Camp and Rear under Baha-

* Vamberg's *History of Bukhara*, 332.

† Aurangzib returned from Balkh to Kabul by the Ghazniyak—Haibak—Ghori—Ghorband route, which is called in the Persian history the *Khwajah Zaid Road* (Abd. Ham. ii. 66g). He seems to have crossed the Hindu Kush either by the *Kushan Pass*, because "this pass leads under the great peak specially known as that of Hindu Kush", (Wood, lxx) or, what is more likely, by the Chardarya or *Kipchak Pass*, (for which see Wood, lxx. and Leyden, 139). The stages of his homeward march from Balkh are thus given :—Ghazniyak Pass—Ghori—Surkhab river—Bek Shahar—Chahar Chashma—Pass of Hindu Kush—Ghorband—Charikar—Kabul. (Waris, 8a & b).

dur Khan, were several days' march behind. They suffered untold hardships from heavy and incessant snowfall for three days together. Men and beasts of burden alike slipped on the snow or lost the narrow track and went rolling down into the depths below. The exhausted camels lay down in the ice never to rise again. The intense cold drove every man away in search of shelter. Zulqadar Khan alone, with a handful of men, guarded his charge on the bare top of the pass for seven days, regardless of snowfall, till the Rear under Bahadur Khan came up and took him away. This last officer's march had been slow, as he had constantly to face round and drive back the hillmen who clung to him in the hope of plunder. One night, in the midst of wind and snow, he had to bivouac on the top of the pass, and many benumbed men and beasts of his party perished.* The last part of the army reached Kabul on 10th November.†

The total loss of the Imperial army in crossing the passes was 10,000 lives, about
Loss of life. one-half of the number being men, and the rest elephants, horses, camels and other beasts. Much property, too, was left buried under the snow, or flung into the ravines

* Waris, 8b, 9a.

† Waris, 9a.

for want of transport. The horrors of the British Retreat from Kabul were anticipated by these Indian mercenaries, who had blindly gone to an unrighteous war at the call of their paymaster. Next year when the snow melted it revealed the gruesome spectacle of piles of human bones bordering the path !*

Thus ended Shah Jahan's fatuous war in Balkh,—a war in which the Indian treasury spent four *krores* of rupees in two years and realised from the conquered country a revenue of $22\frac{1}{2}$ *lakhs* only. Not an inch of territory was annexed, no dynasty changed, and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh. The grain stored in Balkh fort, worth 5 *lakhs*, and the provisions in other forts as well, were all abandoned to the Bukharians, besides Rs. 50,000 in cash presented to Nazar Muhammad's grandsons and Rs. 22,500 to envoys. Five hundred soldiers fell in battle and ten times that number (including camp followers) was slain by cold and snow on the mountains.† Such is the terrible price that aggressive Imperialism makes India pay for wars across the north-western frontier.

* Vambery's *Bukhara*, 322.

† Abdul Hamid, ii. 542, 704; Waris, 7b, 6b, 7a.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNORSHIP OF MULTAN AND SINDH, 1648—1652.

After sanctioning the retreat from Balkh, Shah Jahan himself returned to India. But steps were taken to guard against any disaster in the rear. Prince Shuja was left behind at Kabul till he should hear that Aurangzib had safely crossed the Hindu Kush again. The expeditionary force was now entirely withdrawn from Afghanistan. But Aurangzib himself, in command of its last portion, was detained at Attock* till March next, without being permitted to cross the Indus

and enter Hindustan. The object

Aurangzib
appointed to
Multan.

of this arrangement evidently was that he should be near enough to hasten back to the defence of Kabul, in case of an invasion from Central Asia. But such a fear vanished in time, and in the middle of March 1648 he was appoint-

* Waris, 4a, 8b, 12a.

ed Governor of Multan.* This post he held till 14th July, 1652, when he laid it down to take up the viceroyalty of the Deccan for the second time.†

Of Aurangzib's personal history during these four years there is little to tell. He was twice called away to fight the Persians at Qandahar ; first leaving Multan on 22nd January and returning in December, 1649, and on the second occasion crossing the Chenab on 20th March 1652 and being sent away to the Deccan directly from Qandahar. On the way back from the first siege he spent a fortnight with the Emperor at Lahore (10th to 26th November, 1649) ; and he

His movements
and promotion.

paid another visit to his father at Delhi from 2nd January to 12th February, 1651. Promotion came to him on 16th January, 1649, when his rank was raised by 2,000 troopers of his command being made *do-aspa* and *seh-aspa*, and his allowance being increased in proportion, so that he was now a Commander of 15,000 men by rank, (his additional contingent being 12,000 troopers, of whom 8000 were *do-aspa* and *seh-*

* Waris, 12a.

† Waris, 66a and 67a.

aspa.)* In November of the same year the province of Tatta or Sindh was added to his viceroyalty, and the districts of Bhakkar and Siwistan granted to him as his fiefs.†

On the public side of the Prince's career from 1650 a new and copious source of information is opened to the historian by the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*.
 The *Adab-i-Alamgiri*: its contents and historic value.
 Aurangzib took into his service an elegant and facile secretary, Shaikh Abul Fath, afterwards raised to the title of Qabil Khan and the high post of *Munshi-ul-mamalik* ("Secretary of the Empire") when his master won the throne of Delhi. The scribe served the Prince for 26 years and retired only when failing eye-sight made him unfit for his task.‡ He kept copies of all the letters he wrote in the name of Aurangzib to the Emperor, the princes, ministers, and generals, and of certain other epistles written to them on his own behalf. These number more than six hundred and fill 427 pages of a foolscap folio manuscript, with 23 lines to the page. They cover the entire period from 1650 to the dethronement and captivity of Shah Jahan. From

* Waris, 24a, 39b, 48a, 49a, 59a. *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 3a, 4b, 9a & b.

† Waris, 39b.

‡ *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 1b, 209b.

the commencement of the second siege of Qandahar the letters become more full and frequent, and we get a detailed and most authentic account of Aurangzib's efforts at Qandahar, his feeling at his father's censure, his financial difficulties in the Deccan, the administrative problems that he handled there, the crooked ways of Mughal diplomacy with Bijapur and Golkonda,—and lastly, of his hopes and fears, plans and movements during the war of succession, and his relations with his captive father. Half a century later, Sadiq of Ambala collected Qabil Khan's drafts, supplemented them with a history of the war of succession extracted from the *Amal-i-Salih* and the *Alamgir-namah*, added 131 letters* which he himself had written as secretary to the luckless prince Muhammad Akbar, and published the whole to the world. In the Khuda Bakhsh MS. the collection forms a folio volume of 586 pages, of inestimable value to the historian of the epoch.†

The province of Multan contained a war-like and unsettled population divided into a number

* These contain many details of the Mughal war with Maharana Raj Singh, and come to a close only a month before Akbar broke into rebellion against his father.

† The *Aṭab-i-Alamgiri* was compiled in 1115 A. H. (1703-1704 A.D.) by Šadiq at the request of his son Mī. Zaman, (2a and b).

of clans by differences of race, creed, and traditions, and often engaged in war with one another. The addition of Sindh to his charge brought Aurangzib in contact with the wildest and most untractable Afghan and Baluch septs. For many generations past the royal authority had been hardly obeyed in the Sindh: its lawless population, western borderland even in name, and the chieftains had lived warred and raided as they liked. Aurangzib was not the man to brook disorder and disobedience. But even he could do no more than make a beginning. The cause of law and order could get no local support among the people governed; everything depended on the strong arm of the ruler. It was impossible for him, in the few years of a viceroyalty, to break to peaceful life and law-abiding habits tribes who had never before known any government and who were in a fluid state of either expansion or extinction. Only justice strictly administered and backed by irresistible force for several generations, could have crushed out the predatory instincts of the Brahuis and Hots and taught them to obey a higher power than their chieftains' will. This moral transformation was reserved for another age and another race of administrators. What Aurangzib, however, could do

was to strike down the most notorious brigand chiefs and secure a nominal profession of allegiance to the Emperor from the border clans. The Imperial suzerainty once admitted in theory, its practical working out might be left for better times.

A large Baluch tribe name Hot had migrated into Sindh and the Panjab under
The Hot tribe. Mir Chakar Rind of Sibi, and split up into branches. One section held the upper Derajat for two centuries with Dera Ismail Khan as their capital. Their chiefs bore the title of Ismail Khan from generation to generation and stretched their lordship over Darya Khan and Bhakkar east of the Indus. In the Sind Sagar Doab stood Mankera, another Hot stronghold, and the capital of a principality which in the beginning of the 17th century stretched from Bhakkar to Leiah on the Indus. In course of time the Hots have become assimilated to their Jat and Rajput neighbours, and their power and number have declined.* But the seventeenth century was the period of their greatness. Their chief, Ismail Hot, sent presents to Shah Jahan and secured a patron in Dara Shukoh. Taking advantage of his position on

* Dames's *Baloch Race*, 48 and 55, *Imperial Gazetteer*, xi. 262, 270, xvii. 198, xxiii. 286.

the boundary between the two provinces, he now claimed to be subject to the Governor of Lahore and refused to admit the jurisdiction of the Subahdar of Multan. Aurangzib was prepared for this subterfuge. He had mentioned the case in an audience with the Emperor and got his answer that Ismail Hot was in future to be subject to Multan. The Hot chief, on the strength of a letter of Dara's, refused to wait upon the new Governor of Multan, and continued in his career of aggression. He took three forts from Mubarak of Babri, another Baluch chief.

Aurangzib, armed with the Emperor's sanction, at once asserted his authority and sent a force to restore the forts to their rightful owner. But during Mubarak's absence, Ismail conquered the forts again. Severer measures were now taken against him; he was compelled to surrender Mubarak's possessions and to pay his respects to the Prince at Multan (20th June, 1650). Aurangzib now conciliated him, as he was a rich chieftain with a good body of armed retainers, and could assist the Imperial government in subduing the Nohani tribe and also supply provisions during the Qandahar war.*

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 233, (Ismail presents horses and camels, 26 May, 1641.) Waris, 85a. *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 2b, 3a.

Another Baluch tribe, which has now strangely declined and almost disappeared, is the Nohani,* the hereditary enemy of the Hots.

The Nohani tribe. But their power in the 17th century was strong enough to cause anxiety to the government. Aurangzib at first tried to win over Alam, the Nohani chief, whose lands adjoined those of the Hots and lay across one of the shortest roads from Multan to Qandahar. But his friendly letter produced no effect; the proud chieftain refused to wait on the Governor at Multan. So Aurangzib took steps to expel him by force, after getting sanction from the Emperor.†

In the Kirthar and Lakhi hills separating Sindh from Baluchistan, dwelt many lawless men of the Nahmardi and Jukia tribes. In Akbar's time

Imperial authority recognised in the Baluch hills beyond the Indus,

the former clan could place in the field more than 7,000 men.‡

Their strongholds were Bela, (the capital of the district of Las), and Kahra, from which

* "Noh or Nuhani.—Not now found. Said to have been on the side of the Lasharis against the Rinds' (*Dames's Baluch Race*, p. 56). "Throughout the Brahui, Baloa, and Lasi tribes, and even among the Sibi Afghans, sections or sub-sections called Nohani, Nuhani, and Nothani, &c. are to be found" (*H. Buller's Census of Baluchistan*, p. 83).

† *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 3a, 3b, 4a, 5a.

‡ *Ain*, ii. 337. The *Adab-i-Alamgiri* mentions Kahra and Bela as 10 stages from the frontier of Tatta, and as the

they sallied forth to rob and to slay. No ruler of Sindh, from the days of the Tarkhan dynasty, had extorted even a nominal submission from these border brigands. Aurangzib sent his able lieutenant, Malik Husain of the Abdali clan, against them. The force marched for ten days beyond the frontier of Lower Sindh, exacted promises of submission and tribute from Harun and Khatartal (the Nahmardi chiefs), and Murid (the headman of the Jukias), and caused the Emperor's name to be read from the pulpit as a public mark of his suzerainty. This show of strength evidently had a good effect on the neighbours, for Jafar Nahmardi, a kinsman of the zamindar of Panjghur* and Kech Makran, and in Makran. and four other chiefs offered their allegiance to the Imperial government.

Another Nahmardi chief named Madh, had descended from the hills of Southern Afghanistan to raid Bela and Kahra. But Malik Husain with the Imperial troops made a forced march of 140

refuge of these two clans. The *Ain* speaks of a range of mountains named Karah, evidently west of Bhakkar. (ii. 337).

* The *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 3b, has Banchur or Panjur "and Kaj and Makran". I take the place to be *Panjghur*, 27°30 N. 63°E., north north-east of Kaj (or Kech), described in Masson's *Kalat*, 219. The chief objection to the identification is that it is more than 300 miles away from Tatta.

miles, and surprised the robber's camp, slaying him and bringing away his daughter and forty of his retainers as captives. Thus the Emperor's suzerainty was publicly declared throughout the coast tract of Makran, and the army returned to Tatta with flying colours.

Sata Hala, the son of the zamindar of Kakrala, paid a visit to Aurangzib at Multan, but in the meantime his rival crossed over from Cutch and seized his lands. A detachment from Malik

Husain's force, assisted by a gun-boat, drove away the usurper, who fled without standing a

Lawless men
put down.

battle.* Everywhere lawless men and frontier clans felt that they had got a new master, who could not be safely defied.

While thus securing internal peace, Aurangzib was equally mindful of developing the trade of the province and increasing its revenue. Early in the century Tatta had been one of the chief commercial centres of India, and trade of great value used to pass up the Indus. But accumulations of sand at the mouth of the river increased year by year and closed the passage to ocean-going ships.† Tatta ceased to be an emporium.

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 3b.

† "There is no city of greater trade in all the Indies than Tatta in Sindh; its chief port being Larry Bunder, three days' journey nearer the mouth of the river. From Tatta

Aurangzib now set about reviving the commerce of the province by affording facilities to the maritime trade. He opened a new port at the

Aurangzib mouth of the Indus, and built there a fort and dock to give it security and usefulness. But it

opens a new port at the mouth of the Indus. took time for the new harbour to become known to mariners, and for some months the only ship that used it was a vessel belonging to the Prince. The Emperor excused the duty on merchandise in order to attract trade to it.*

We read of his financial difficulties at this time. His *jagirs* produced little revenue, as the result of drought, the locust plague, and floods, in three successive seasons. He begged for financial assistance from the Emperor, saying that he had no hoard of gold pieces, but had spent all his income in keeping his army efficient, as he did not care to buy jewels like other princes. But the Emperor gave him an angry refusal.†

Aurangzib's administrative capacity, however, must not be judged from these few achievements

they go in two months by water to Lahore and return down the river in one...Great trade is carried on at Tatta and ships of 300 tons might be brought up to Larry Bunder " Whittington in 1614, Purchas, 1, quoted in Kerr's *Voyages and Travels*, ix. 131 and 130. For the silting up, Tavernier, i. 12.

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 6a.

† *Adab*, 172a.

in Sindh. He lived in the province for barely three years, and in the very first year of his viceroyalty Qandahar cast its shadow over his work. Home affairs were subordinated to foreign, and every other question was neglected for the supreme one of recovering Qandahar. Multan became one of the two bases for the war with Persia, and, amidst the bustle of military preparations on a vast scale, the attention and resources of its ruler were necessarily diverted from the internal administration.

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST SIEGE OF QANDAHAR, 1649.

The province of Qandahar occupies the southern part of Afghanistan.

The district of Qandahar: its physical aspects, It is a comparatively level country, of which the heart is

formed by the river Helmand and its tributaries. On the east it is separated from India by the extensive net-work of hills centring round Thal-Chotiali. On the south impassable deserts lie between it and Baluchistan. On the north stretch the hill ranges of Ghazni and Kabul. Westwards, from a little beyond the city of Qandahar up to Isfahan, the country is fairly level, but so very hot and barren that for days and days together not a green herb or blade of grass refreshes the traveller's eye, while the dry sandy soil affords only a scanty supply of brackish water at long intervals. A few forts have been built on the rivers, mainly for military purposes,—to guard the fords, to protect caravans,

and to afford resting places to troops on the march. Patches of cultivation and walled hamlets dot the river banks in an otherwise desolate wilderness.*

Qandahar proper is an open and well-watered district penned within hills and its crops and deserts. The Arghandab and canals. the Tarnak, two tributaries of the Helmand, give fertility to its north-eastern corner beyond Kalat-i-Ghilzai, on the road to Ghazni. Numberless canals have drawn away water from the Helmand, and turned the environs of Qandahar into one long expanse of orchards and cornfields, vineyards and melon-beds. The Afghans of this part have used every contrivance that human ingenuity sharpened by want can suggest, to utilise the precious water of their few streams in irrigating their fields. Rightly do the people name their river *Hirmand* or "abounding in blessings," because they owe their all to it.† But the country is so bare of trees that firewood is very dear, and for lack of timber the people build their houses of sun-

* Journey of Richard Steel and John Crowther, in Purchas, I. 519—528 (quoted in Kerr's *Voyages and Travels*, ix. 212 and 213).

† *Imperial Gazetteer*, i. 12. *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett), ii. 394. Masson's *Journeys*, ii. 186, 189. Forster's *Journey* (1798), ii. 102—104 and 106.

dried clay, with earthen domes for roofs. Burnt bricks are seldom used, even in building the walls of forts.* Away from the river, agriculture cannot flourish, and sheep form the chief wealth of the people.

The great Hindu Kush range running through the heart of Asia, strikes westwards into Persia, and thus completely separates Central Asia from Afghanistan, Baluchistan and India. But north of Herat its formidable heights sink to insignificant levels, with comparatively gentle gradients, which offer an easy passage to an invading host from Central Asia marching to take Kabul from the rear and strike India on her western flank.† Herein lies the strategic importance of Qandahar: only 360 miles of level country separate it from Herat,—a ten days' dash for cavalry. Through Qandahar must pass, and there must be turned back, if ever at all, any considerable land force, with artillery and other modern impedimenta, coming to invade India from Persia or Central Asia.‡ The master of Kabul must hold Qandahar and

* Masson's *Journeys*, i. 280.

† Holdich's *Gates of India*, 528.

‡ *Kandahar* (a pamphlet), with an Introduction by Ashmead Bartlett, (1881).

Herat, or his dominion is unsafe. In an age when Kabul was a part of the Delhi Empire, Qandahar was our indispensable first line of defence.

In the seventeenth century Qandahar was even more important as a gateway of commerce than as an outpost of the empire. The Portuguese navy then dominated the Indian Ocean, and their quarrels with Persia often stopped the sea-borne trade by way of the Persian Gulf. All merchandise from India and even the Spice Islands had to follow the land route through Multan, Chotiali, Pishin and Qandahar. In spite of the length and hardships of the road, in spite of the toll levied by every petty chieftain and local officer whose jurisdiction had to be crossed, in spite of the total cost of transport being as high as Rs. 125 for every camel's load,—the traders had practically a monopoly of the Persian market, and their profits were large enough to attract numbers to the traffic. In 1615, the English traveller Richard Steel noted that fourteen thousand laden camels annually passed into Persia by this route. Many merchants of India, Persia and Turkey met at Qandahar and often concluded their exchange of commodities there, and so great was the con-

course of trade that provisions grew very dear in the city in spite of the natural abundance of the district, and the houses were extended till the suburbs became larger than the city itself.*

From its position Qandahar was naturally a bone of contention between India and Persia.* Early in the sixteenth century two powerful monarchies strung up side by side, when Babar conquered Delhi and Shah Ismail founded the glorious "Sophy" dynasty in Persia. In 1522 Babar finally wrested the province of Qandahar from the Arghun family who had held it under nominal submission to the ruler of Herat. On his death, it passed as an appanage to his younger son Kamran. In 1545, Humayun, then a fugitive from India, captured the fort from his brother Askari, but broke his promise of ceding it to the son of the Persian king, who had given him shelter and whose forces had aided the conquest. But this breach of faith availed him little. In the troubles following Humayun's death and Akbar's minority, the Persian king conquered Qandahar (1558) and bestowed it on his nephew Sultan Husain Mirza. Akbar's turn came in 1594, when Sultan Husain's successor,

* Purchas, i. 519—528, as quoted in Kerr, ix. 209, 212, 213. Tavernier, i. 90.

Mirza Muzaffar Husain, surrendered his principality to the Mughal Emperor and entered his service as a high grandee. So also did

Frequently
changes hands
between India
and Persia.

Muzaffar's brother Rustam, the lord of Dawar. For the next twenty-nine years Qandahar remained united to Delhi, though a fruitless attack was made on it in 1606, just after Akbar's death. But the Persians were not to be denied. After negotiating in vain with Jahangir for a friendly cession of the fort, Shah Abbas the Great in 1623 besieged it for 45 days, and took it from Abdul Aziz Khan Naqshbandi, who was holding it for the Emperor. Fifteen years afterwards, Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian Governor of Qandahar, alarmed at the hostile intentions of the Shah, saved himself and his family by betraying the fort into Mughal hands (Feb., 1638) and entering the Imperial service, where he gained the highest rank and office, and the personal friendship of his new master. Shah Jahan, on getting possession spent immense sums in strengthening the defences and replenishing the stores and arsenals of Qandahar and its dependencies, Bist and Zamin Dawar.*

* For the history of Qandahar see Erskine's *History of India*, i. 215, 220, 355; ii. 311—319, Blochmann's *Ain-i-*

It now became a point of honour with the Persian sovereign to recover Qandahar. Shah Abbas II, who had ascended the throne of Isfahan in 1642 as a boy of ten only, wanted to signalise his coming of age by a great exploit. In August, 1648, he began to assemble matchlockmen and pioneers in Khurasan, lay in stores of grain at convenient centres, and mobilise a large force at Herat. At the same time the traffic from Persia to Qandahar by this route was stopped, in order to withhold news from the doomed city. But preparations on such a vast scale cannot be kept secret. At the end of September Shah Jahan learnt of the project; he was even informed that the Persians would make the attack in winter, when the heavy snowfall of Afghanistan would prevent the arrival of relief from India. Shah Jahan, then at Delhi, took counsel with his ministers. It was at first decided to move the Court to Kabul, and to warn the nobles to join the expedition with their quotas of troops. But a

Shah Abbas II. prepares to recover it.

Shah Jahan delays sending relief.

Akbari, i. 313-314, 409, 504; Elliot, vi. 130; *Ruqat-i-Shah Abbas Sani*, 77-79, *Alam Arai Abbasi* (Mulla Firuz MS.), ii. 119; Khafi Khan, i. 115-122, 326; Abdul Hamid, ii. 24-40; *Masir-ul-Umara*, ii. 795-798 (Life of Ali Mardan Khan), iii. 296 *et seq*; *Encyclopædia of Islam*, i. 167 and 168.

winter march to Afghanistan was unpleasant; several provincial commanders delayed joining the Emperor. Courtiers were not wanting to suggest that there was no need for hurry, as a Persian campaign in the depth of winter was most unlikely. In a weak moment Shah Jahan listened to the carpet knights of his Court; the march of the grand army was put off till the next spring. Only the Mughal Governor of Kabul threw 5,000 men and five lakhs of treasure into Qandahar to add to its defensive power.*

Empire is not for the ease-loving; victory is not for the indolent. The
 Persians besiege Qandahar. natural consequence of neglecting an enemy followed. The Persian king belied his tender age and character of a drunkard. He triumphed over the depth of winter, his lack of provisions, and other difficulties on which the courtiers of Shah Jahan

* Waris, 20b-21a, 23a; Khafi Khan, i. 684—686; Muhammad Afzal Husain's *Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh*, (Khuda Bakhsh MS.) 42a, (very brief). *Ruqat-i-Shah Abbas Sani*, the Shah's letters to Shah Jahan before and after the siege, 52—64, his letter calling upon Daulat Khan to surrender the fort, 120—126, and some other epistles in which he exults over his victory, 105—120 (including the failures of Shah Jahan's sons). One of the letters to Shah Jahan contains the curious request, "Won't you make a free gift of Qandahar to me, who stand in the relation of a son to you?" (59) *Tarikh-i-Shah-Abbas Sani* by Mirza Tahir Wahid (Mulla Firuz Library) has a brief account of the Persian capture and the failure of the Mughal sieges.

had built their hopes, and laid siege to Qandahar on 16th December, 1648.

Daulat Khan, surnamed Khawas Khan, the Mughal commandant, adopted a foolish scheme of defence. He threw his picked troops into the citadel, named Daulatabad, as if matters had already come to the worst. Three quarters of a mile from the citadel, on the north face of the hill, stood two projecting guard-towers above a flight of forty steps carved in the solid lime-stone rock. Daulat Khan durst not hold this isolated position. But it was a fatal omission. The Persians at once seized this eminence,* which dominated the citadel and the market place of Qandahar. On 5th January, 1649, three big guns, each carrying 74 lb shot, reached their camp. Platforms had been already raised for them, and the bombardment of the city began. The parapets and screens above the fort-walls were demolished, and the Persian trenches were safely run to the edge of the ditch.

Progress of the
siege. Thence they crossed the moat on wooden bridges and secured a lodgement under the walls of the outwork named Shir Haji and began to lay

* Manucci mentions a story that they surprised the Mughal sentry on the hilltop by following a goat-track up the hill at night under the guidance of a goat-herd. (*Storia*, i. 186.)

mines. Here the fiercest fighting took place at close quarters, the outwork being repeatedly lost and recovered. The presence of their king spurred the Persians on to heroic exertions.

Early in February, the garrison began to lose heart. They had held their *Treacher y* among the de- own for a month and a half fenders. against superior odds, and no relief was in sight. Nor were traitors wanting to fan their discontent and alarm. Two Tartar chiefs, Shadi Uzbek and Qipchaq Khan, with their retainers, had entered the Mughal pay at the end of the war in Balkh, and were now in Qandahar. These foreign mercenaries thought only of saving their families and property, without caring for their master's honour. They intrigued with the timid and the slothful among the garrison and created a spirit of despair by dwelling on the impossibility of reinforcements arriving before spring, and painting the horrors of an assault by the Persians. Their arts succeeded. A portion of the garrison mutinied, deserted their trenches and opened negotiations with the enemy. Daulat Khan was not the leader for such a crisis: he lost control over his men; instead of making an example of the ring leaders, asserting his own authority by a stern suppression of the mutiny, and animating the

loyal by constant visits to the different points, he vainly reasoned with the mutineers, and then left them absolute masters of their quarters. On 5th February, the traitors admitted a Persian envoy within the lines against orders, and soon a crowd of Mughal officers gathered round him to hear the Shah's letters read. An Imperial officer from Bist was also brought in to convince the garrison of the surrender of that fort to the Persians. This took away what little courage the defenders had still left in them. The commandant begged for a five days' truce, which

was granted. On 11th February, the garrison surrendered on a promise of safety from the Persian king, marched out of the fort and set out for India. Thus Qandahar with all its stores and armament was lost to India.* The siege had lasted 57 days, and the relieving force succeeded in coming in sight of the fort only three months after its fall!

No greater blow was ever struck at Mughal prestige than the loss of Qandahar. And the shame of it was equalled only when three grand and costly expeditions, led by the Emperor's sons, failed to wrest it from the Persians. The success

* (For the siege by the Persians) Waris, 23a—27a; Khafi Khan, i. 686—690 and 693.

of Shah Abbas II served only to deepen the disgrace of the subsequent failures of Aurangzib and Dara Shukoh at the same place.

For the fall of Qandahar Shah Jahan and his advisers alone must be held responsible. They had underrated the enemy's powers; they had delayed their own preparations; and above all they had left Daulat Khan in charge. Before the Persians arrived, men and money had been thrown into the fort, but not the man needed for the occasion; and in war it is not men but *the man* that counts.

Daulat Khan* had risen to be a commander of five thousand. By birth a Bhati of the Panjab, his extreme beauty in youth had gained him Jahangir's favour and the easy office of Captain of the Imperial Body-guard. Under Shah Jahan he had distinguished himself by personal bravery and enterprise in the wars of the Deccan and the arrest of a powerful rebel. But he was now verging on sixty and had evidently lost his old energy and leadership of men. He had neither resourcefulness nor power of initiative, nor the iron will that nerves heroes to hold a fortress till the last moment in scorn of

Character of its
Mughal com-
mandant.

* Life in *Masir-ul-Umara*, ii. 24—30.

famine and impending massacre. Above all, he utterly failed to keep in hand the diverse races,—Rajputs and Hindustani Musalmans, Afghans and Turks,—who formed the garrison of Qandahar. With an impregnable fort, a garrison of 7,000 men, and provisions and munitions for two years,* his task was easy in comparison with that of many an English subaltern known to fame, an Eldred Pottinger or a Grant (of Thobal); and he failed in it. If he had held out a month longer, the Persians would have raised the siege through lack of provisions. The garrison had lost only 400 men out of 7,000 effectives when he opened the gates to the enemy.†

Shah Jahan had received news of the Persian preparations for the siege of Qandahar as early as 30th September, 1648, but he suffered his courtiers to persuade him to delay his own march to Kabul till the next spring. On 16th January, 1649 at Lahore he received a despatch

* When the Persians captured the fort, it had a garrison of 4,000 men armed with the sword or the bow, 3000 men armed with matchlocks, a number of large guns, vast quantities of powder and shot, many thousand stands of arms, besides money, grain, oil and other provisions sufficient for two years. (Waris, 26*a* and *b*.)

† Waris, 26*a* and *b*.

from Qandahar stating that the Shah had arrived and begun the siege exactly a month before. Orders were immediately sent to Aurangzib and the prime minister Sadullah Khan, to hasten to Qandahar with 50,000 men. A bounty of Rs. 100 was paid for every trooper who joined the expedition, while the commanders and *ahadis* got three months' pay in advance.*

The troops moved in two divisions,—under Sadullah Khan from Lahore and under Aurangzib from Multan, —and met together at Bhera. Thence the Prince himself advanced by way of Bangash, Kohat, Jamrud and Jalalabad, arriving at Kabul on 25th March, while the progress of the army was delayed by the snow on the roads and the lack of fodder for the beasts of transport. Meantime Qandahar had fallen, and Aurangzib's new orders were to push on and besiege the fort before the Persians could consolidate their conquest. The Emperor himself proceeded to Kabul to support and direct the siege from the rear.

Leaving Kabul (on 5th April) after a halt of eleven days, Aurangzib reached Ghazni on the 18th, where the absolute want of grain and fodder

* Waris, 23a and b, 27a.

rendered his further advance impossible. But the Emperor was inexorable. The Prince gathered what provisions he could during a fortnight's stay at Ghazni, and then resumed his march. From Qalat-i-Ghilzai Sadullah pushed on with five divisions of the army, and encamped before Qandahar on 14th May. Aurangzib brought up the rear two days later.*

Two miles outside the modern city of Qandahar, a traveller proceeding towards
 Old Qandahar described. Herat comes upon the ruins of
 old Qandahar,† which Alexander
 the Great is said to have built and which Nadir Shah destroyed in 1738. It stood on an exceedingly strong position, along the base and eastern slope of a high ridge of bare rock that rises abruptly from the plain. The site of the city is marked by the crumbling walls of houses and confused heaps of bricks and *debris*, which cover several acres of surface. The lines of defence are still traceable by portions of walls that extend with broken intervals along the crest of the ridge. The city consisted of three distinct

* Waris, 27a-28b (for the details of the march).

† This description is based upon Ferrier's *Caravan Journeys* (ed. 1856), 317; Bellew's *Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan*, 232 & 233; Masson's *Journeys*, i. 279; Waris, 26a.

parts, each on a separate eminence, and capable of mutual defence. On the

The city and the ridge.

serrated crest of the hill stood many towers united by curtains.

The highest of these, called Lakah, was almost impregnable. It contained rock-cut tanks of water for the city and commanded the citadel (named Daulatabad), which stood lower down on the second eminence, while the town and market-place (*Mandavi*), both walled round, were situated further below on the first tableland above the eastern plain. Beyond the city stretched gardens, pleasure-houses and fields for miles and miles, to the north, east, and south-east. Three walls surrounded the city at such a distance from it as to enclose a large open space for the encampment of a garrison in time of war.

The ramparts* of the old town were built of

The walls.

dried clay, strengthened by the mixture of chopped straw and stones. The material, thoroughly wetted and stamped out, was laid in layers of eighteen inches high at a time and allowed to dry before the next layer was put on. Their thickness at places was ten yards. An English officer in 1878 wrote of these walls as about the stiffest

* This description is based on Ferrier, 317; Le Messurier's *Kandahar in 1879*, pp. 70 and 71.

things of the kind he had seen. On firing a revolver at 10 yards, the bullet was merely lodged in the face of the wall and could be picked out with the nail. Such walls, according to him, might have stood modern battering guns for a length of time, and in fact some of the British artillerymen doubted if any impression to speak of could have been made on them.* Beyond the triple walls, on the side of the plain was a wide and deep ditch, supplied with water from the canals of the Arghandab river.

On the north face of the ridge against which the fort nestled, there are forty steps cut in the rock and leading up to a cave half way up the hill. On the two sides of the entrance, are two couchant leopards, and the cave itself contains a bow-shaped chamber with a domed roof.† Two guard-towers had been built during the Mughal occupation on adjacent projections of the rock to oppose an enemy's assault by this path, because from the top of the Forty Steps guns could command both the citadel and the city. The fort of Lakah crowned a peak in the middle of the ridge and defended Qandahar on its western flank, where the hill descended to the plain in a steep

The gates.

* Le Messurier, 130 and 131.

† Bellew, 232 and 233.

scarp. It had a gate named Ali Qábi.* Proceeding along the city wall from the north-eastern corner of the ridge where the wall first leaves the hill, we come in succession to the gates of Baba Wali, Waisqaran, Khwajah Khizir, and Mashuri, till at last the wall strikes the ridge again at the south-western corner of the fort, where stood an earth-work bastion and a redoubt (*hissar*).†

The outposts of the province in the direction of Persia were Kushk-i-Nakhud, situated about 40 miles west of Qandahar on the right bank of a tributary of the Helmand which drains the Maiwand valley, the fort of Bist, 50 miles further west on the margin of the Helmand, and Zamin Dawar, north-west of Bist. The Persian frontier station was Girishk, some thirty miles up the Helmand from Bist.‡

Aurangzib arrived before Qandahar and began the siege on 16th May, 1649.
Siege begun. The Mughals completed their

* So far as we can judge from the Persian accounts, *Qaitul* was the name of the whole ridge. At places it looks as if it were a peak identical with or adjacent to Lakah, but the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 12*b*, distinctly calls the whole ridge the hill of *Qaitul*.

† For the gates, Waris, 24*b*, 28*b*, 65*a*; *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 12*b*, 14*a*.

‡ Holdich's *Gates of India*, 204, Purchas, i. 519—528 (quoted in Kerr's *Voyages and Travels*, ix). *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett), ii. 393—398.

investment by throwing up entrenchments opposite the gates and behind the ridge, and began to run covered lanes towards the ditch of the fort. A body of scouts watched the ferry at Kushk-i-Nakhud, to get early news of the coming of any relieving force from Persia.

Next day a *coup de main* was attempted. Rajahs Man Singh of Gwalior and Bhao Singh of the Kangra Hills, led their Rajputs up the Forty Steps and reached the platform on the top, but the Persian musketeers from within the guard-towers plied their matchlocks with deadly effect at point-blank range, and the Rajputs were driven with heavy loss half way down the hill, where they constructed a stockade and held it for some time.*

Despite a heavy fire from the fort guns, three covered lanes were carried to the edge of the ditch by 4th July. From one of these a transverse was dug along the bank to the front of the Khwajah Khizir gate. Windows were opened in this and through them earth and tree loppings were flung into the ditch to form a bridge, (2nd August). An underground channel was dug which partly drained the ditch and lowered the water-level by one yard. Another

Entrenching
and sapping.

July. From one of these a transverse was dug along the bank to the front of the Khwajah Khizir gate. Windows were opened in this and through them earth and tree loppings were flung into the ditch to form a bridge, (2nd August). An underground channel was dug which partly drained the ditch and lowered the water-level by one yard. Another

* Waris, 28b and 29a.

mine was carried under the ditch till it reached the base of the outermost wall.*

Hitherto the Imperial troops had worked under Aurangzib's cover and carried out their lack of siege tasks. Now they had to come guns, out into the open and storm the

fort. This could have been effected only after overpowering the batteries of the defenders or breaching the walls. But Aurangzib's expedition had been planned for throwing reinforcements into the fort and was therefore not at all equipped for the unexpected task of conducting a siege. He had not a single piece of large cannon, while the fort in the hands of the Persians contained many. An assault in the face of superior artillery could have been carried out only by troops of desperate courage and markedly higher skill and discipline, and after a heavy sacrifice of lives. But in this case the superiority lay with the defenders. The Delhi historian frankly admits, "The Persians had grown expert in the capture and defence of forts, by their long wars with the Turks since the days of Shah Abbas. They were masters of fire-arms and artillery. They held such a strong and well-provisioned fort, with big guns and skilful

Persian superiority in artillery.

* Waris, 34a and 34b.

gunners, who in one day fired 25 times on the covered lane which had arrived half way across the ditch and destroyed it. Qasim Khan's mine was also discovered and demolished by the fire from the fort guns...The Imperialists had no gun big enough to overthrow the parapet under shelter of which the fort-gunners fired their pieces, not to speak of silencing their fire."*

"So the Imperialists failed with all their efforts." The capture of the
 Failure: Siege fort was hopeless, and on 5th
 raised. September, Aurangzib, obeying

the Emperor's command, began his retreat from Qandahar. He had sat down 3 months and 20 days before the fort, but all in vain. The retreat was hastened by the approach of the terrible Afghan winter which Indians cannot bear, and the news that a large Persian force, estimated at 20,000 strong, was coming to relieve Qandahar.

An Imperial force under Qalich Khan
 had been posted for two months
 Mughal advanced detachment near the fort of Bist with
 orders to corrupt its Persian
 garrison, ravage the district of Dawar, and
 send supplies of grain to Qandahar. But in
 August reinforcements from Persia began to

* Waris, 33b, 34b.

advance towards Qandahar, and make Qalich Khan's position untenable. Khanjar Khan whom he had detached with 4,000 Indian troops to cross the Helmand and loot the district of Kuraishi, was defeated by Najaf Quli, the Persian Master of the Horse, and driven back across the river with a loss of 700 slain besides many others who perished in swimming the stream (during the second half of July). Qalich Khan rapidly fell back before the enemy's superior numbers till he reached Sang Hissar on the Arghandab, some 24 miles south-west of Qandahar. Here strong reinforcements sent by Aurangzib under Rustam Khan Deccani reached him, after driving away a band of Persian cattle-raiders who had penetrated to within a few miles of the Prince's camp.*

The two generals joined their forces and on 25th August at Shah Mir fought
 fights the Persian
 relieving force, a great battle with the enemy.
 The Indian army under Rustam Khan stood in battle order on the bank of the Arghandab, barring the road to Qandahar. The Persians, reported to be 30,000 strong, stretched in a vast line for four miles from the hill of Kushk-i-Nakhud to the river bank. Large reinforcements had reached them that

* Waris, 29a, 34b—36a.

very morning under Murtaza Quli Khan, the Fauji Bashi. The new arrivals, eager to share in the battle, issued from Kushk-i-Nakhud, without stopping to water and refresh their horses. Their general vowed that he would not break his fast before defeating the Indians!

It was an hour past noon when the rival hosts clashed together. The small
which retires.

Indian army was beset in front and the two flanks, and for three hours waged a fierce struggle. At first the vigour of the Persian charges shook and pressed back the Indian Right Wing, but the troops were picked men and did not lose order; strengthened by the Reserve under Rustam Khan himself, they made a counter-charge and repelled the attack. A dust-storm put an end to the battle. The Persians, on unrefreshed horses, suffered much from the hot wind and retired, leaving the Indians masters of the field. In the hurry of their flight they abandoned some of their artillery, carts, horses, and arms, which the Imperialists captured. Next day the victors advanced, but found that the Persians had evacuated Kushk-i-Nakhud at night and could not be caught up even after a pursuit of 20 miles.*

* Waris, 36a-37b. The Persian version is in *Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh*, 42b and 43a, where it is stated that as the

This victory cast a dying gleam on the Mughal arms, and Shah Jahan celebrated it with great pomp and pride : the Imperial band played for three days, the Court went into rejoicing, and honours and promotions were bestowed on the generals. But the siege of Qandahar was already hopeless, and ten days after this victory it was abandoned. Aurangzib had lost two to three thousand men and double that number of horses, camels and oxen in the siege, and his army had been severely tried by scarcity of grain and fodder.* Mihrab Khan, the Persian commandant of Qandahar, died on the day the Imperialists began their retreat; but he had held his trust inviolate.

wind was very hot and their horses not yet watered and baited, the Persians retired and found next day that "the Indian troops in awe of the Persians had retreated and joined Aurangzib!"

* Khafi Khan, i. 695—700.

CHAPTER VIII.

SECOND SIEGE OF QANDAHAR, 1652.

The first siege of Qandahar had failed for want of heavy guns and material. The honour of the Mughal arms required the attempt to be repeated. The next three years were spent in preparations on a scale worthy of the grandeur of the task. Big guns were cast, provisions accumulated at convenient depots on the route, thousands of camels assembled for transport, the friendship of Baluch chiefs purchased along the line of communication from Multan, and money and munitions stored at the base at Kabul.

Aurangzib had been appointed to command the expedition. From his government of Multan he had sent men to explore the routes to Qandahar, and at last selected the Chacha-Chotiali-Pishin line as the shortest. For years his agents had visited the Baluch country and

contracted with the tribal chiefs for the supply of provisions to the Prince's army during the march and siege.*

The force sent against Qandahar numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 men, Strength of Aurangzib's army. of whom one-fifth were musketeers and artillery men. The officers formed one-twentieth of the strength. The artillery consisted of eight big cannon, some of which carried 70lb. shot, twenty of smaller calibre, each carrying 4 or 5lb. shot, twenty swivels mounted on elephants and a hundred on camels. The transport was entrusted to ten choice elephants from the Emperor's own stables, besides many others owned by the generals, and three thousand camels. Two krores of rupees were set apart for the expenses. The Emperor himself stayed at Kabul with a reserve of 40 to 50 thousand men, to reinforce the besiegers if necessary, and to keep their communication with the north open.†

The main army, led by the Prime Minister Sadullah Khan, entered Afghanistan by the Khaibar Pass and reached Qandahar by way of Kabul and Ghazni. Aurangzib with a smaller

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 3a, 4a, 5a, 7a, 10a, 11a, 90b.

† Waris, 60a—61a. He says that about 56,000 troops were sent to Qandahar. Khafi Khan (i. 710) wrongly gives the number as 70,000.

body, containing many officers and some five thousand soldiers of his own contingent, started from Multan, followed the western route through Chotiali and Pishin, and debouched through the Panjmandrak (=Khojak ?) Pass.* The two divisions met near Qandahar on 2nd May, 1652.

On that day the siege was begun. The divisional commanders occupied
 Dispositions of the besiegers, their appointed places round the fort and set themselves to run trenches and erect batteries. Aurangzib took post on the west of the fort, behind the hill of

* For the details of the marches, Waris 64a, and especially *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 9a—11b, which gives Aurangzib's movements thus :—Left Multan 16th February, but halted long outside it,—crossed the Chenab 20th March (sent his family back to Multan),—reached the Indus by four marches, and crossed it on 26th March—Lakia,—Chacha, 6th April,—Chotiali on 13th April,—Duki on 14th,—Tabaq-sar on 19th,—Pishin (probably on 23rd, because the dates in the above two authorities conflict),—the Panjmandrak Pass on 26th,—reached Qandahar, 2nd May. The whole distance between Multan and Pishin is given as 124 *kos*.

The route followed by the English travellers Richard Steel and John Crowther in 1615 was,—Multan—the Chenab—Patuali village (20 *kos* from the river—the Indus—Lacca (=Lakia),—enters the mountains 12 *kos* from Lacca,—Chatcza (=Chacha),—Duki—Secotah (=seh kotah, three castles),—crosses a mountain pass,—Coasta—Abdun—Pesinga (=Pishin),—crosses a high mountain, and descends into the plain—Qandahar, 60 *kos* from Pesinga. (Kerr, ix. 210—212, quoting Purchas.) *Pishin* is spelt in the Persian MSS. as *Fushanj* or *Qushanj* or *Qushakh*. A map of Biddulph's route in 1879 is given in Shadbolt's *Afghan Campaigns*, i. and with Temple's article in the *Royal Geographical Soc. Journal*, 1880, pp. 190-319.

Lakah; his Chief of Artillery, Qasim Khan, south of the fort, with orders to drain the ditch dry; Sadullah's position was south-east; while in the extreme north-west, facing the Forty Steps, lay Rajah Rajrup with his Kangra hillmen. Four other generals, occupying the intervening spaces completed the investment.*

The work of sapping necessarily took time. Meanwhile attempts were made to capture some of the outlying defences by sudden assault. Mahabat Khan and Rajah Rajrup, in charge of the northern line of attack, dragged two heavy guns to their trenches and bombarded the two towers on the Forty Steps, doing some damage to the works. But the position was impreg-

* Waris, 65a., *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 12b. The following was the distribution of trenches, going from the west, by the north, to the east and south:—

Opposite Lakah Fort—Aurangzib, Qalich Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, Rajah Pahar Singh Bundela.

Opposite the Ali Qabi Gate—Baqi Khan.

„ the Forty Steps—Rajah Rajrup.

„ the Baba Wali Gate—Mahabat Khan and Rajah Anurudh.

„ the Waisqaran Gate—Najabat Khan.

„ the Khwajah Khizir } —Qasim Khan (Chief
Gate to the Mashuri } of Artillery). Sadullah,
Gate } and Jai Singh.

„ the Earthwork Bastion—Rustam Khan.

The *Adab-i-Alamgiri* places Rustam Khan opposite the Mashuri Gate, but his real position was at the south-west corner of the fort. Qasim Khan's position was also shifted by Sadullah. This explains the slight differences between the two authorities quoted above.

nable ; the assault delivered here by Bhao Singh during the first siege had failed with heavy loss, and his son Rajrup now shrank from the hopeless task. He next proposed to surprise the peak of the ridge, behind the Forty Steps. Rajrup removed his men to a position facing the gate of Ali Qabi on this hill, and entrenched himself. Under him were many foot-musketeers of the Kangra district, expert in hill-climbing. His plan was to send them secretly up the hill after midnight and, when they had surprised the gate and entered the defences, to push up supports and storm the hill-top itself. Preparations were made for this object ; materials were collected for building a stockade on the hill side, and the two chiefs of the army were warned to be ready to send help.

The night of Sunday, 20th June, was chosen for the attempt.* Sadullah Khan poured in men from the trenches on the right and left of Rajrup's and sent 1,000 picked troops of his own division, to form a body of supports at the Rajah's post. Every one took the position previously marked out for him by the Minister.

* For the history of the night-attack, Waris, 65*b*, and *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 16*b* and 17*a*. Life of Rajrup in *Masir-ul-Umara*, ii. 277-281, does not even mention the incident. Khafi Khan, i. 711-712.

Early in the night the Rajah sent his own retainers up by a track which they had discovered for reaching the top. He himself followed them at some distance and piled up a shelter of stones in the hillside as his own station. The supports marched towards the Ali Qabi gate, while their leader, Baqi Khan, with 300 men from among Aurangzib's retainers, joined the Rajah. The success of this hazardous enterprise depended on silence and secrecy. But the Mughals bungled. Indian troops are not accustomed to silent work at night, especially in a hilly region. The supporting body was too large and too variously composed to be led on smoothly and noiselessly. There was some disagreement between Rajrup and an Imperial officer named Muzaffar Husain, and words were exchanged. This created a loud mismanaged, noise. The enemy got the alarm and stood on their defence. A surprise was no longer possible in the face of alert defenders, by men climbing up a narrow hill-track in single file. About three hours before daybreak the moon rose and took away the last chance of Mughal success. Soon afterwards, news came to the Rajah, who had been anxiously waiting so long in his stone shelter on the hillside, that his troops had found the defenders of the fort on the summit awake at one place.

and were returning baffled. So he sent his supports back and stayed there for the return of his men. After a while a foolish servant told him that his men had reached the hill-top and entered the fort. The Rajah hastily believed the report, blew his trumpet, and beat his drums. At this signal the returning Imperial troops ran back to him. But the truth was soon discovered; the Sun rose and presented the straggling assailants

on the hill-side as a clear target
 fails with heavy loss. to the Persian marksmen. Many

were slain and wounded on the Mughal side, but the main portion of the loss was undoubtedly borne by the Rajah's men who were nearest the enemy. For this error of judgment Rajrup was censured by his chief and sent back to his old trenches.

Thereafter the only hope of taking Qandahar
 Trenches run. was by carrying the sap nearer and breaching the walls. In both of these the Mughals failed. Aurangzib's trenches, west of the ridge, arrived within $22\frac{1}{2}$ yards of the wall, and Sadullah's (east of the fort) to a spot 10 yards from the ditch. But here their progress was arrested. "The trenches could not be carried any nearer in face of the severe fire showered from the fort-walls." "The work [of sapping] was hard, and many of Sadul-

lah's men were wounded and slain....The enemy issued on three sides, and from sunset to dawn fired their muskets incessantly from loop-holes opened in the fort-walls, so as to give no opportunity to Aurangzib's workmen [to make progress.]”*

In fact the Persian artillery was as excellent as the Mughal was inefficient.
 Bad gunnery of the Indians. The Indian gunners were bad marksmen and their fire produced no effect on the fort-walls. Some of Aurangzib's men were so ignorant that they overcharged two of his big guns with powder, causing them to burst. Five large pieces of cannon now remained, which were insufficient to breach the wall in two places. In fact so notoriously bad were the Indians in handling artillery that the main reliance of their kings was on European gunners, who are praised in contemporary histories as masters of their craft, and were attracted to the Imperial service by high pay and large rewards, though they used to desert as soon as they could get a chance. In the third siege, Dara Shukoh took a body of them with him to Qandahar.†

There were other difficulties, too. Within a

* Waris, 65a and b, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 16a and 15b.

† Waris, 65b, Khafi Khan, i. 713; *Lataif-ul-Akhbar*, 9a. *Storia do Mogor*, i. 95, 226, 232, 259.

few weeks of the opening of the siege the work of draining the wet ditch and running mines had to be suspended for lack of materials. Aurangzib now realised that the fort could be taken only by storm. And the Emperor had ordered that no assault was to be delivered without making a breach.*

According to Sadullah's plan, all the big guns were assembled on the eastern side, opposite the Mashuri gate. ^{Mughals fail to breach the eastern wall.} Batteries were raised on the right and left of Sadullah's trenches (17th and 22nd June.) The famous gun *Fatih Lashkar* and three other large pieces were mounted here with great labour. Every day ten rounds were fired from each gun, but the damage done to the screens and towers of the fort was always repaired at night. and the Persian artillery was not over-powered.† The Mughal artillery was as weak in number as in efficiency. In the meantime Aurangzib set up four stockades in front of his trenches, holding 3,000 men in all,‡ for making a feint against Fort Lakah when Sadul-

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 17b.

† *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 14a, 15b, 17b, 18a, 15a.

‡ From these stockades to the fort-wall there was a fire-swept zone with no shelter except a few boulders, while the soil was too stony to permit sapping. (*Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 16a.)

lah would breach the wall and deliver an assault on the Mashuri gate.

Sorties. But the last expectation failed. On 19th June, before Sadullah's second battery was complete, a large armour-clad force made a sortie from the fort and fell on his trenches. From the top of the fort and the side of the hill a shower of musketry fire was kept up. Though reinforcements drove the enemy out after an hour's severe fight, the Persians succeeded in killing and wounding many of the Mughals. On some other nights, too, sorties were made, some Mughal guns damaged, and many of the besiegers carried off as prisoners. The Persians could not be pursued, as they quickly went back within shelter of the fort-guns.*

By the end of June it was recognised that the Mughal guns would never breach the wall on that side. So they were removed from the Mashuri gate to the western side. Two of the Surat cannon were sent to strengthen the artillery in Aurangzib's trenches. and two other big pieces, including *Fatih Lashkar*, to a new battery opposite the Ali Qabi gate, on his left hand. Here, too, the besiegers fared no better ; besides,

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 16b, Waris, 65b, Khafi Khan, i. 712.

they got no more than a week's time to use their artillery before orders arrived to abandon the siege.

From the commencement of the leaguer two months had now passed away. Persian losses. An attempt to corrupt Utar, the commandant of the fort, had brought back the taunting reply, "When you have succeeded in weakening the fort or injuring the garrison in any way, it will be time for me to think of deserting to you!" About the middle of June two high Persian officers (including Mir Alam,* their Chief of Artillery), were blown away by a 70 lb. shot from a Mughal gun. On 26th May, when a magazine was opened for distributing powder to the garrison, the store of sulphur caught fire from the hand of a careless servant who was preparing a pipe of tobacco for the Persian officers present. It soon spread to the powder and there was a terrible explosion. Many houses in the neighbourhood were overthrown, and men and horses wounded by the flying splinters of rock. About 150 sepoys and water-men perished in the fire, and the four

* Called in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, "Mir Alam, surnamed Mir Kalan Sani, the Bishak Bashi and superintendent of the New Bastion and Earthen Bastion," and by Waris, "Mahammad Beg, Topchi Bashi."

officers who had opened the magazine were confined to bed by their burns.*

But with all these disasters to the garrison, the Imperialists were no nearer success. Shah Jahan had strictly enjoined that there was to be no assault before breaching the wall, and a breach with their few guns and bad gunners was out of the question. Aurangzib therefore wrote to the Emperor on 3rd July, soliciting a distinct order to storm the walls which were still intact. It would have been madness to sanction such an enterprise. Shah Jahan had been already informed by Sadullah Khan that his guns could effect nothing, and that the munitions had run short, and on 1st July he had replied that the siege was to be abandoned. Aurangzib pleaded hard for a short delay; he offered to lead a desperate assault on the walls, for to leave Qandahar untaken after such grand preparations would destroy his reputation for ever. But the news that a retreat had been ordered spread through the camp, the scouts fell back on the army, and the trenches were deserted. When Shah Jahan at last grudgingly consented to

* Waris 65b, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 13b, 14b, 15a.

continue the siege for another month, it was found impossible to carry out the new order.*

What had hastened the Emperor's resolve to raise the siege was a raid by a body of ten thousand Uzbek horsemen, who had burst through the western hills into the district south of Ghazni, and threatened the Mughal line of communication between Kabul and Qandahar, (about 26th June). The danger was greatly exaggerated by the Court at Kabul, though Aurangzib assured the Emperor that from his experience in Balkh he was sure that a few thousand Mughal troops could expel the raiders. In fact, the Uzbaks fled on hearing of the approach of the Imperial army, and were cut off during their flight by the Afghans with the aid of the officer in command at Ghazni. The Delhi historian boasts that not a tenth of the raiders returned to Central Asia alive.† The Mughal army, however, raised the siege and began its retreat from Qandahar on 9th July. A small party sent back to India by the Pishin-Chotiali-Multan road,—which two centuries

* Aurangzib's letters, (repeating at their commencement the contents of Shah Jahan's letters which are being replied to), are given in the *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 18a & b, 19a.

† Waris, 64b & 66a, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 18b, 19a.

later Biddulph's division followed at the end of the Second Afghan War,—reported that the Baluch clans had already risen and rendered the road unsafe. So, Aurangzib withdrew his outposts from Pishin and Duki, and led the army back to Kabul, joining the Emperor on 7th August. The Van under Sadullah had arrived eight days earlier.*

Bitter was Aurangzib's humiliation at the ill-success of the expedition. Shah Jahan wrote to him, "I greatly wonder how you could not capture the fort in spite of such vast preparations." Aurangzib protested that he had done his utmost, but the scantiness of siege materials and insufficiency of artillery had rendered the attempt hopeless, as Sadullah Khan himself had testified. But Shah Jahan angrily rejoined, "I am not going to give up Qandahar. I shall try every means to recover it." The Prince pleaded hard to be permitted to stay in Afghanistan or the Panjab and to take part, even as a subordinate, in the next attempt on Qandahar, in order to retrieve his character as a general. For this he was willing to forego the viceroyalty of the Deccan

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 18b, Waris, 66b, *Zubdat-ut-Tawarikh*, 44a & b, (very meagre).

which was now offered to him. But Shah Jahan was inexorable: he ordered Aurangzib to go to the Deccan at once, and brushed aside the Prince's excuses for his failure with the caustic remark, "If I had believed you to be capable of taking Qandahar, I should not have recalled your army...Every man can perform some work. It is a wise saying that men of experience need no instruction." Aurangzib replied by quoting the proverb, "Whosoever has a particle of sense can know his own good from his harm" and pointing out that he could not have purposely failed in his task, as he knew that it would involve his father's displeasure.*

The Court ascribed the failure to the abandonment of Shah Jahan's plan of operations, which was that Aurangzib should invest the fort with half the force, while Sadullah should advance west with the other half and capture the forts of Bist and Zamin Dawar, when the garrison of Qandahar would see their communication with Persia cut off, lose heart and surrender to the Mughals. But Sadullah Khan opposed such a division of the force and of the scanty supply of provisions and material, and the Emperor

Causes of the failure.

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 19a—20b.

himself, on being referred to, confirmed the change of plan.*

In truth it is unjust to blame Aurangzib for the failure to take Qandahar. Throughout the siege he was really second in command. The Emperor from Kabul directed every movement through Sadullah Khan. His sanction had to be taken for every important step, such as the removal of guns from one battery to another, the disposition of troops, the date, hour and point of assault. Fast couriers brought his orders from Kabul to Qandahar in four days, and the Prince had merely to carry them out. Indeed so thoroughly subordinate was Aurangzib that during the first month of the siege only one despatch from him reached the Emperor, while Sadullah corresponded frequently and the Emperor's letters were often written to the Prime Minister, to be afterwards shown to the Prince.†

Unjustly held responsible for the defeat, Aurangzib lost the favour and confidence of his father. What added a keener edge to his mortifica-

* Waris, 65b, *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 12a and b, 20b.

The plan, even if carried out, would have availed little. In the next siege, a detachment from Dara's army did capture Bist and Girishk, but Qandahar held out for five months all the same, and was not taken at the end.

† *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 13b, 17b, 18b, and elsewhere.

tion was that he had given occasion for laughter at his expense to his envious eldest brother and that brother's party at Court. But Dara's crowing did not last long; Aurangzib soon tasted the sweets of revenge. Dara* led a still vaster army and a larger part of artillery against Qandahar and vowed to capture it in a week. His siege dragged on for five months and in the end Qandahar was not taken. The long history of Dara's doings there written by the courtly pen of Rashid Khan (Muhammad Badi)† is remarkable only for the sickening flattery offered by his courtiers and the insane pride displayed by the Prince. It unconsciously but most effectively condemns Dara and by contrast places Aurangzib in an honourable light.

These failures left a lasting sting in the mind of Aurangzib. Half a century later, when he was a dying man, he heard that his son Shah Alam, then Governor of Kabul, was enlisting troops evidently to dispute the succession on the Emperor's expected death. Aurangzib tauntingly wrote to him, "I hear that inspite of your lack of

* Dara sat down before Qandahar from 28th April to 27th September, 1653, with an army of 70,000 men. Two of his heavy guns carried 112 lb. and 96 lb. shot. He was supplied with 30,000 cannon balls, 5,000 maunds of powder, 1,500 maunds of lead, and 14,000 rockets. (Wāris, 70a *et seq.*) Khafī Khan, i. 717—728.

† *Lataif-ul-Akhbar.*

money you are engaging highly paid soldiers. Evidently you want to recover Qandahar. God assist you!"* Herein he recognised that the conquest of Qandahar was an impossible feat.

The three sieges of Qandahar cost the Indian treasury more than ten *crores* of rupees. In addition to this sum, the new fortifications built by the Mughals on taking possession of it from Ali Mardan Khan and the treasure, arms, munitions, and provisions that fell into the hands of the Persians on its capture, must have cost more than a *crore*.† Thus the Indian tax-payer poured into the sands of Afghanistan about 12 *crores* of rupees, and more than half the gross annual

* Letter No. 4 in the lithographed *Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*.

† We have the following data for calculating the cost of the Qandahar wars. For the second siege 2 *crores* of rupees were brought from Delhi and Agra, out of which one *crore* was spent on the soldiers and officers in one month. (Waris, 61a). The third siege occupied 5 months (against 2 months in the case of the second) and Dara's army was probably 70,000, as against the 50,000 men who accompanied Aurangzib. Hence the third siege must have cost about seven *crores*. The presents to Dara on the eve of the expedition amounted to 20 *lakhs*, and one *crore* was sent with him (Waris 70a and 71a). When starting for the first siege, the officers were paid a bounty of Rs. 100 for each trooper placed in the field, and as the force was 50,000 strong, this alone absorbed 50 *lakhs* (Waris, 23a). Before the Persians arrived, 5 *lakhs* had been sent to the fort from Kabul. In 1638, when Qandahar was betrayed to Shah Jahan, 20 *lakhs* were sent with Shuja to meet the cost of the

revenue of the entire empire, for absolutely no return.*

The moral loss was even greater than the material. The Emperor of Delhi might dazzle the eyes of foreign ambassadors and travellers by displaying his Peacock Throne and Koh-i-noor, or the superb marble edifices with which he had adorned Agra and Delhi. But henceforth his military prestige was gone throughout the world. The Persian king could rightly boast† that the rulers of Delhi knew how to steal a fort by means of gold, but not how to conquer it by strength of arm. Shah Abbas II. had conquered Qandahar in less than two months; but two Mughal princes in three long and costly campaigns could not recover it, though they were opposed by mere generals and not by any member of the royal blood of Persia. Naturally the military fame of Persia rose very high. The

expedition for driving away the Persians, and 5 *lakhs* more were spent on the fortifications. (Abd. Ham., ii. 40, Waris 21a and 26a).

* The Revenue of the Mughal empire in 1648 was 22 *krores* of rupees. (Abdul Hamid, ii. 710.)

† For his exultation at the capture and retention of Qandahar, see *Ruqat-i-Shah Abbas Sani*, 106—120, (his exact words are different).

Indian troops recognised that in the Persians they had met with more than
Enhanced military reputation of the Persians. their match. And throughout the rest of the century the rumour of a projected invasion from Persia used to throw the Court of Delhi into the greatest alarm.* For years afterwards the Persian peril hung like a dark cloud on the western frontier of India, and the Emperor Aurangzib and his ministers drew their breath more easily when any warlike Shah of Persia died.

* *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 56—58, *Alamgirnamah*, 974, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, §§ 50, 51, and 52.

CHAPTER IX.

SECOND VICEROYALTY OF THE DECCAN, 1653—1658.

On 17th July, 1652, Aurangzib, then returning from Qandahar, was appointed Governor of the Deccan for the second time. Exactly a month afterwards he took leave of the Emperor in Afghanistan and proceeded to his charge. Crossing the Indus at Attock on 9th September, he passed through Delhi and Agra on 17th and 28th November respectively, and reached the Narmada river on 1st January 1653. As the palace in Burhanpur was not yet ready for his occupation he encamped outside for some days, while the repairs were being completed, and entered this city, the capital of Khandesh, as late as 30th January. Here he wooed and won the graceful singer Hira Bai, surnamed Zainabadi Mahal, and here he lingered for the next nine months in spite of Shah Jahan's repeated orders urging

him to go to Aurangabad, the official capital of Mughal Deccan. At last leaving Burhanpur on 28th October, 1653, he entered the fort of Daulatabad on 25th November.* At Aurangabad he spent the next four years of his life, leaving it only to invade Golkonda and Bijapur, and finally on 5th February, 1658, to contest the throne of Delhi. Here his son Akbar was born (11th September, 1657), and here he buried his wife Dilras Banu (died 8th October 1657,) and his favourite concubine Zainabadi (probably in 1654.)

Of Aurangzib's life during this period we have his own reminiscences, written in old age to his grandson Bidar Bakht: "The village of Sattarah† near Aurangabad was my hunting ground. Here on the top of a hill, stood a temple with an image of Khande Rai. By God's grace I demolished it, and forbade the temple dancers (*murlis*) to ply their shameful profession.... During my vicerealty, while I was living at Daulatabad and Aurangabad,—the latter city having been populated by me after its first foundation [by Malik Ambar] under

Aurangzib's life there: hunting and journeys.

* Waris, 66a, 67a and b; his journey south is described in detail in *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 21a—24a, 25b, 26a, 27a, 144a and b.

† On the top of a hill, six miles due south of Aurangabad.

the name of Khirki,—I used in my folly to ride about, and make forced marches under the instigations of Satan and of my own passions. I used to go far on horseback to hunt the *nilgau* and other kinds of game. Other idle deeds did I do. I used to visit the lake of Qatluq in the valley of the watershed, Chamar Tikri and Jitwārā, and to make pilgrimages to the tombs of the saints Burhanuddin and Zainuddin,* or to climb up the hill fort of Daulatabad and to the caves of Ellora, (which are wondrous examples of the Creator's art), sometimes with my family, at others alone."†

Game was very abundant in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad. Herds of wild
Shikar near
Aurangabad.
 deer grazed four miles from the city, and *nilgaus* were found in plenty in the direction of Lauhgarh and Ambar. Tigers could be shot in the hills which hemmed the valley round. At the lake of Qatluq, near the "valley of the watershed," six miles from the fort of Daulatabad, countless flocks of heron rested. Aurangzib, and afterwards his sons Muazzam and Azam, delighted to hunt the *nilgau* and the heron. The *nilgaus* were shot from a fixed station as they were driven down the

* At Roza or Khuldabad, on the way to the Ellora hill.

† *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*, 7b—8a.

narrow valley, and the herons were struck down by trained hawks.*

It was during his second rule over the Deccan that Aurangzib clearly unfolded not only his administrative skill and energy, but also the limitations of his character which finally blighted his fame and wrecked his empire. We have already seen him boasting how he had destroyed the temple on a hill six miles south of Aurangabad. He is taxed by Shah Jahan with being unfriendly to the Rajputs, and tries to answer the charge by recommending a Rajput captain, Rao Karan,† to an administrative post.

Early examples of his religious bigotry. Evidently there was no love lost between him and the Rajputs already. People perceive instinctively when they are disliked, and though they may be wrong in guessing the cause, their feeling always indicate correctly the spirit in which they are being treated.

A clearer proof of his religious bigotry even in youth is furnished by the following letter which he wrote at this time to the prime minister Sadullah Khan :

"The Brahman Chhabila Ram, the *ganungo* of property-tax of the city of Bihar, had uttered improper words with

* *Dilkasha*, 12 and 49. *Ruqat-i-Alamgiri*, Nos. 12 and 28.

† *Adab*, 29a.

reference to the Prophet. After investigation and verification of the charge by order of the Emperor, Zulfiqar Khan and other officers of the place had beheaded him, as was required by justice. Now, the scholar Mulla Muhan has written to me that the brothers of the accursed misbeliever, out of bigotry, have sought justice at the Imperial Court against Shaikh Muhammad Muala, the lord justice, and Shaikh Abdul Mani, the ecclesiastical judge of the province. I, therefore, remind you of this affair, as it is proper for all Muslims to do their utmost to assert the rules of the Prophet's religion, and it is the duty of kings and nobles to protect the scholars of Islam in enforcing the injunctions of the Holy Law. You should exert yourself more than your peers to close the road of the complaint of this wretched tribe [to the Emperor's feet] and to take care of the letters (*i.e.*, explanations) of the guardians of the honour of the Faith."*

The city of AURANGABAD† bears the Prince's name and commemorates his first viceroyalty.

Originally it was a petty hamlet named Khirki. When Malik Ambar revived the Nizam Shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, he transferred the capital to this village, and built a palace

* *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 101a.

† This description of early Aurangabad is based on *Dilkasha*, 9, 11, 12, Tavernier, 1. 146, *Masir-ul-umara*, i. 263, ii. 60, *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 223. Burgess, in his *Cave Temples in the Bidar and Aurangabad Districts* (p. 59) says: In 1616 Malik Ambar built at Khirki the Nurkhanda palace and mosque, and his army raised dwellings for themselves around it; ravaged and burnt by Jahangir's army in 1621. Malik Ambar's son Fath Khan named it *Fatehnagar* (1628). The black stone mosque built by Ambar is described in Murray's *Hand-book to India*. For a description of the city in 1810, see Seely's *Wonders of Elora* (2nd ed.), 367—369, 403.

for the Sultan known as the *Green Bungalow* and a mansion for himself close to the Royal Market (*Shahganj*). To form a large centre of population in a dry soil like this, the first thing needful is water. So he constructed a big tank close to the town and also brought water to his own house by means of a canal from the river near Arsul. The tank was about four miles round, and the village grew up on its side. Aurangzib at first resided in the fort of Daulatabad. But it could hold only a small body of men. So he looked round for a good site on the plain for the seat of his government, chose Khirki, built a princely palace there close to the tank, and allotted lands to all his nobles and officers to build their quarters on. Then he removed from the fort to the new city, which got his name and grew rapidly as the capital of Mughal Deccan.

The splendid mausoleum or *Mugbara* of his wife Dilras Banu, surnamed Rabiā-ud-daurani, is an imitation of the Taj Mahal. It was built after his accession and was thoroughly repaired by his son M. Azam. It is still the finest architectural ornament of the city, and next to it stands the vast Juma Masjid which was completed by him. Aurangzib's residence, though greatly altered by later occupants, still remains

and is pointed out to travellers as the *Alamgiri Mahal*.

Years afterwards, when he returned to the Deccan in 1682, a wall four miles long was built round the city by his order to protect it from Maratha raids. The work cost three *lakhs* of rupees and was completed in four months through the active exertions of Dianat Khan Khafi. The city has undergone much change at the hands of the Nizams whose first capital it was, and of their French officers who lived here with almost regal authority.

We now turn to his public life during these five years.

Since Aurangzib had laid down the vice-royalty of the Deccan in May 1644, the Mughal administration there had not prospered.

True, the country enjoyed unwonted repose after a half century of war with Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda. True, there was no disturbance of public peace by invasion from across the frontier, and no expedition against refractory feudatories. But agriculture had not been promoted, the peasantry had not been cherished, and new lands had not been brought under tillage. On the contrary, much cultivated soil had lapsed into the jungle, the cultivators

had declined in number and resources, and the revenue had fallen off greatly.

This wretched state of things was the natural
 due to frequent result of a succession of short
 changes of go- viceroyalties and incompetent
 vernors. viceroys.*

Khan-i-Dauran who had succeeded Aurangzib, was murdered a year afterwards. The veteran of a hundred battles, he also worked hard at the administration, transacting public business for twelve hours a day and inspecting everything himself. But he was so pitiless in exacting money from the village headmen, so harsh in squeezing the ryots, and so rough and strict to all the people under him, that the news of his death threw them into a transport of joy and was celebrated at Burhanpur as a divine deliverance.

Islam Khan Mashhadi, a very old man incapable of riding a horse, next governed the Deccan for two years, and during this short period he estranged the Deccanis by his harsh and strict conduct and enriched himself by selling the Government stores of the forts when

* Khan-i-Dauran succeeds Aurangzib on 28 May, 1644, and is murdered, during absence in N. India, on 22 June, 1645. Jai Singh then officiates for him. Islam Khan is appointed 17 July, 1645, dies on 2 November, 1647. Shah Nawaz Khan then officiates. Murad Bakhsh is appointed on 15 July, 1648, and Shaista Khan replaces him on 4 Sep., 1649, and continues till September, 1652.

prices ruled high and replacing them with fresh purchases made in the season of low prices! He was keen on settling *ryots* on new lands, but actually effected little during his short term.

Then followed nearly a year (Nov., 1647—July, 1648) of officiating rule by Shah Nawaz Khan. Prince Murad Bakhsh, a dull and indolent youth, not yet twenty-four, was the next viceroy; but he quarrelled with his guardian and *de facto* governor, Shah Nawaz Khan, the administration fell into confusion, and at the end of a year the Emperor was forced to make another change of viceroys! Shaista Khan replaced Prince Murad in September 1649, and held charge till he was succeeded by Aurangzib. Thus, in eight years there were six viceroys, if we count the acting tenure of Rajah Jai Singh in 1645.*

The Deccan had long caused a heavy drain on the Imperial treasury. The province was large, the country broken, with plenty of jungles, and imperfectly settled and organised, and there were two powerful States across the frontier. Therefore, a very large force had to be stationed there. But as the soil was sterile in com-

* For Khan-i-Dauran, *M. U.* i. 749—758, Abd. Ham., ii. 376, 426. For Islam Khan, *M. U.* i. 162—167, Abd. Ham., ii. 430. Waris, 6a. Murad (Waris, 19b). Shaista Khan (Waris, 38a).

parison with the river-plains of Northern India, and the rainfall precarious and variable, bad harvests and scarcities were too frequent, and the standard revenue was never collected.

Revenue greatly decreased. In spite of an abatement of 12 lakhs of rupees on their first ass-

essment made by the Imperial settlement officers in the hope that the collection in future would be more easy and certain, the land revenue still proved to have been pitched too high. For the four provinces which then constituted Mughal Deccan, it stood at three *krores* and 62 *lakhs* of rupees a year; but the actual collection in 1652 was only one *krore*, or less than one-third.*

Out of the total territory, land estimated to yield $37\frac{1}{2}$ *lakhs* a year was assigned as *jagir* to Aurangzib

Public expenditure.

and his sons, and the rest to various officers, excluding the portion which was created Crownland (*khalsa sharifa*) and of which the revenue was collected directly by Imperial officers† and spent at the discretion of the Emperor without being touched by the local governor. The financial condition of the *jagirdars* depended on the actual collection of land reve-

* Abdul Hamid, ii. 712, *M. U.* iii. 497. *Adab*, 31a.

† *Adab*, 31a.

nue. Aurangzib and the higher officers also received a part of their salary in cash from the Imperial treasury. This was a fixed amount, not liable to variation with the agricultural condition of the year, as was the case with the income drawn from *jagirs*.

The land revenue actually collected was scanty and variable, and the arrears and remissions from the standard assessment large. Hence, the public income of the Deccan did not balance the expenditure, and the deficit had to be made good by sending money from the older and richer

Chronic deficit :
the Deccan a
drain on the Im-
perial Treasury.

provinces of the empire to support the administration of the South. This had gone on for years. Once only Khan-i-

Dauran had tried to reverse the process. By torturing the collectors and mercilessly stripping the peasants he succeeded in collecting a large sum, which he despatched to the Emperor with the boastful remark, "Other Governors had to get money from Hindustan ; I am *sending* money there !" But the policy of killing the goose that laid the golden eggs soon failed. The desolation of the country and the misery of the peasantry became worse than before, and the bankrupt administration of the South had to be kept going by Imperial bounties from Malwa and

Guzerat. Shah Jahan was alarmed at this chronic deficit and strongly urged Aurangzib to improve the peasant's lot, extend the cultivation, and relieve the Imperial treasury from the annual drain.*

On his arrival in the Deccan, Aurangzib was faced with a serious financial difficulty. The actual yield of the *jagirs* was only a fraction of their nominal revenue. The ^{Poverty of} ^{officers holding} *jagirs* there. The Mughal officers posted in the Deccan would have starved if they had to depend solely on their *jagirs* in that province. Therefore, during his first viceroyalty, both Aurangzib and his chief officers had been given additional fiefs in other and more prosperous parts of the empire, so that they managed to live on the combined income. And now, also, his officers besieged him with clamour, saying that they could not maintain their quotas of soldiers on the poor revenue of their existing *jagirs*, and demanding that more productive *jagirs* should be transferred to them, so that they might be sure of getting a fixed portion of their income at least.†

Everywhere Aurangzib found signs of mal-administration, the work of his predecessors. The actual collection was sometimes only one-

* *Adab*, 31a, *M. U.* i. 756, iii, 497, *Adab*, 20a, 23b, 28a.

† *Adab*, 31a, 24b, 127b.

tenth of the normal assessment. Even Baglana, noted for its fertility, was in no better state than the other districts. "Baglana has not been well administered since Syed Abdul Wahhab's time," he writes to his father. And again, "the affairs of Painghat (Lowlands) are greatly in disorder,"—"the Deccan is in disorder, as it has not been governed well for the last ten years;"—"the *ryots* of the *Ausa mahal* complain of Uzbek Khan's oppression...and those of the Trimbak *parganah* about the tyranny of Darvish Beg Qaqshal."*

The new viceroy found it impossible to make both ends meet. At this time the civil and military expenditure of the Deccan, exclusive of the salary derived by the officers from their *jagirs*, amounted to Rs. 31,76,000,—out of which the cash allowances of Aurangzib and his sons absorbed Rs. 25,43,000, and the expenses of the artillery department, the cash salary of certain officers, and other necessary disbursements required Rs. 6,30,000. The only means of providing this sum were, first the revenue of the Crownland which actually yielded Rs. 2,40,000, and secondly the tributes from the rulers of Golkonda and Deogarh, eight *lakhs* and

Aurangzib's
financial diffi-
culties.

* *Adab*, 24b, 23b, 24a, 25b, 26b, 30a.

one *lakh* respectively. Thus there was an annual deficit of Rs. 20,36,000, which was made good by drawing on the reserve stored in the treasuries of the Deccan, especially in the fort of Daulatabad. This cash balance fell from Rs. 80,60,000 to Rs. 40,50,000, probably in two years. But in such a frontier province it was necessary to keep a large reserve for emergencies. Aurangzib grew alarmed at the rapid decrease of his cash balance

and suggested a remedy to the Emperor: he wished to take away from the *jagirdars* and place under collectors of the Crown as much land as would yield the 20½ *lakhs* needed to make both ends meet. But where were the dispossessed officers to be provided for? Losing their means of support with the resumption of their *jagirs*, they would be forced to return to the Emperor's Court and so decrease the Deccan army by one-third. Such a diminution of armed strength was unsafe with two powerful States, Bijapur and Golkonda, across the frontier. To avoid the evil, Aurangzib proposed that *jagirs* in part should be given to him and his higher officers in other provinces, and that the cash portion of his salary might be made a charge on the flourishing treasuries of Mālwa and Surat.*

* *Adab*, 31a. I have given the figures exactly as in my

Aurangzib shared the difficulty of other *jagirdars* in the Deccan in having to keep up his normal contingent of troops on an income reduced to a fraction of his normal pay. His fiefs in Multan had been fertile and lucrative; those in the Deccan were estimated to yield 17 *lakhs* less, and were, besides, liable to frequent and large arrears in collection. He rightly protested to his father, "If your Majesty wishes me to be honoured with a great

The more productive *jagirs* of the officers are transferred to him.

viceroyalty, give me the means worthy of it." The Emperor ordered him to exchange his own sterile fiefs for more productive ones in the hands of other

jagirdars.* Aurangzib took care to leave the estates of his competent officers untouched, but appropriated the fiefs of lazy or minor officers who did not deserve considerate treatment. The Revenue Department was ordered by Shah Jahan to transfer to him good *jagirs* yielding Rs. 3,17,500 in place of desolate unproductive lands with the same nominal rent-roll. But the *jagirdars* threatened with dispossession tried to in-

authority; but the items when added together do not come up to the total stated.

* *Adab*, 19b, 25a, 173a. But when he was Governor of Multan he had complained of his fiefs there being unproductive! (See *Adab*, 172a).

fluence the Emperor by accusing Aurangzib of picking out for himself the best villages in each *mahal* and leaving to them scattered possessions. Aurangzib refuted the calumny and asserted that he had taken entire *mahals*, as, in his opinion, a *mahal* divided among a number of owners could not be well administered or made to flourish. So, the Emperor at last confirmed the transfer of lands.*

Aurangzib's second prayer, that the cash portion of his pay should be sent to him from the province of Malwa and the port of Surat, was not granted. He was told to select productive *mahals* in the Deccan either from the Crownland or from the fiefs of the officers. The Prince, accordingly, asked for Elichpur and Ankot, his cash allowance being reduced by the amount

of the revenue of these two districts. But the Emperor fixed the standard revenue of Elichpur greatly above its real collection,

and then Aurangzib naturally demanded cash payment as before, instead of taking such a losing *jagir*. The Emperor was displeased and made caustic remarks about the Prince in open Court.† In 1654 twenty-five lakhs of rupees were

* *Adab*, 25a, 29a, 32b, 33a, 36a, 41a, 36b.

† *Adab*, 27a, 28a, 29a.

sent to Aurangzib from the revenue of Malwa, and for the remaining five lakhs he was asked to take away some fiefs from the officers in Nandurbar. But the revenue of that district actually brought in Rs. 92,000, and Aurangzib desired some other *jagir* to make up the balance.*

The financial wrangle between father and son dragged on for years. Shah Jahan wished to put a stop to the drain of money to the Deccan, and here was Aurangzib asking for cash from other provinces in the place of *jagirs* in the Deccan! The *jagirdars* whose lands he had appropriated by Imperial sanction, intrigued at Court and persuaded the Emperor that the Prince was realising from these fiefs more than his sanctioned pay, while the ousted officers, with only sterile *jagirs* left to them, were starving. An incorrect reading of the revenue papers deepened the same conviction in the Emperor's mind and he angrily wrote to Aurangzib: "It is unworthy of a Musalman and an act of injustice to take for yourself all the productive villages of a *parganah* and to assign to others only the less productive lands. I order you to take half a lakh worth of less productive land in the *parga-*

Wrangle between the two about Aurangzib's income; false charges and Aurangzib's defence.

* *Adab*, 32b, 33a, 37b.

nah of Asir, and decrease your cash stipend by the same amount, so that your actual income [may be made normal.]" Aurangzib replied in a tone of righteous indignation, "I have never in my life acted unjustly, but always tried to please God and His vicegerent on earth. You have censured me for this lakh of rupees.....I have not myself taken away these lands; but the revenue officers of your Majesty's Court, by your order before I left for the Deccan, transferred them from Shaista Khan to me at the same [estimated] revenue. I wonder why the revenue officers, especially the *wazir* who has a retentive memory, did not point this fact out to you..... Contrary to the usual practice, your Majesty has, without making an inquiry or calling for my explanation, and on merely receiving a complaint, passed orders [in this case] and brought the term *Musalman* into use in connection with his perishable affair! I am helpless. As they have made you believe that I am getting more than my* fixed salary, and you have ordered half a lakh of rupees to be deducted from my cash stipend,—what need is there of giving me anything in exchange [of the latter]?"*

When appointing him to the Deccan, Shah

* *Adab*, 41a,

Jahan had urged Aurangzib to pay special attention to the improvement of the peasantry and the extension of cultivation.

Shah Jahan's
impatience at the
delay in improv-
ing the revenue
of the Deccan.

Aurangzib had promised to do his best for these objects, and appealed to his exertions in the same direction during his first viceroyalty. He only pleaded for a sufficiently long tenure and the men and money necessary for his purpose. The Emperor, however, soon lost patience. Order after order was sent to the Prince to increase the cultivation and population. Aurangzib was hastily censured for his failure as an administrator, as the Emperor imagined it to be, and he was threatened with loss of income in order to make him increase his exertions. But he rightly pleaded that the depopulation and ravage caused by a generation of warfare, followed by ten years of mal-administration, could not be undone in two or three years. He had been (he said) silently and steadily promoting his object and had in three years succeeded in doubling the revenue of many *mahals*.* Very soon his viceroyalty was destined to become memorable for ever in the history of land-settlement in the Deccan.

* *Adab*, 20a & b, 26b, 28a, 32a & b, 144a.

For the purposes of revenue administration, Mughal Deccan had been divided into two portions, each with its own *diwan* or revenue minister. The *Painghat* or Lowlands comprised the whole of Khandesh and one-half of Berar, while the other $2\frac{1}{2}$ *subahs* formed the *Balaghat* or Highlands. The *diwan* of Painghat was Multafat Khan, a strong civil administrator and a man of pleasant manners, charming by his easy sociability all who came in contact with him. But he was after all a mere departmental head, with considerable executive capacity no doubt, but devoid of any genius for administrative reform or innovation.* Glory of the latter kind belonged to his colleague, Murshid Quli Khan, the *diwan* of Balaghat, and one of the many noble gifts of Persia to India.

MURSHID QULI KHAN† was a native of Khurasan who had migrated to India in the train of Ali Mardan Khan, the fugitive Persian governor of

* *M. U.* iii. 500—503. The *diwans* of this period were, (1) Dianat Khan, from the 14th to the 21st year of Shah Jahan's reign, and again from the 22nd to the 27th (*M. U.* ii. 37), (2) Multafat Khan, *diwan* of Painghat only from the 25th to the 29th year, (3) Murshid Quli Khan, appointed *diwan* of Balāghat in 1653 and of Painghat also on 28 Jan., 1656.

† Life of Murshid Quli Khan in *M. U.* iii. 493—500.

Qandahar. He "combined the valour of a soldier with the administrative capacity of a civil servant." As Paymaster of Aurangzib's army in Balkh he had displayed ability, and when Aurangzib came to the Deccan again, Murshid Quli accompanied him as *diwan* of Balaghat. The Emperor highly commended him to the Prince as his adviser in revenue matters. The Prince, too, valued him as highly, and soon afterwards secured for him the title of *Khan* or Lord. Three years later Painghat was added to his charge, and he became *diwan* of the entire Deccan (28th January, 1656). But it was in Balaghat that he began his revenue reforms and first achieved success for his new system.

A century earlier the revenue collection of Northern India had been brought into a system by Todar Mal, the *diwan* of Akbar. But the Deccan had no system at all. Here the marking out of plots, the measurement of land by chain survey, the assessment of revenue at so much per *bigha*, or the sharing of the actual produce between the State landlord and the cultivator, were unknown. The

The old irregular revenue administration of the Deccan.

Khafi Khan, i. 714, 732—735. *Adab*, 24b, 27a, 28a, 43a, 99a, 41a, 30b, 47b. Waris, 67b, 101a, 106a.

peasant in the Deccan cultivated as much land as he could with a plough and a pair of oxen, grew whatever crop he liked, and paid to the State a small amount *per plough*,—the rate of revenue varying in different places and being fixed arbitrarily, without bearing a definite proportion to the actual yield of the field, because it was not the practice there to inspect fields and estimate the quantity and value of crops.

This utter absence of system and principle in revenue matters laid the peasantry open to the caprice and extortion of the petty collectors. The long wars of Mughal aggression and a succession of rainless years, completed their ruin. The oppressed *ryots* fled from their homes, the deserted fields lapsed into the jungle; many once flourishing villages became manless wildernesses. Shah Jahan had reduced the revenue of Khandesh to one-half in 1631, but even this amount was never fully realised before Murshid Quli's time.

The new *diwan's* reform consisted in extending
 Todar Mal's system to the
 Murshid Quli's Deccan. First, he worked hard
 Revenue System. to gather the scattered *ryots*
 together and restore the normal life of the villages
 by giving them their full population and proper

chain of officers. Everywhere wise *amins* and honest surveyors were deputed to measure the land, to prepare the record of well marked out holdings (*raqba*), and to distinguish arable land from rocky soils and water-courses. Where a village had lost its headman (*muqaddam*), he took care to appoint a new headman from the persons whose character gave the best promise of their readiness to promote cultivation and take sympathetic care of the peasantry. The poorer *ryots* were granted loans (*taqavvi*) from the public treasury, for the purchase of cattle, seeds and other needful materials of agriculture, and the advance was recovered at harvest by instalments. In one year he granted loans of forty to fifty thousand rupees to the *ryots* of Khandesh and Berar for making embankments to impound water for irrigating low-lying lands.

To prevent partiality or corruption "this honest and God-fearing *diwan* often dragged the measuring chain with his own hands" and checked the survey work of his subordinates. By personal inquiry in the fields and villages he won the confidence of the peasantry; he allotted the holdings with care and attention to detail, so that the *ryots* prospered at the same time that the revenue increased. He had the wisdom to modify his system according to differences of

local conditions. Where the peasantry were backward and the population scanty, or where the villages were situated in obscure nooks, he left the old usage of a fixed lump payment per plough undisturbed. In many other places he introduced the system of metayership or sharing of the actual produce. For this there were three rates : (i) Where the crop depended on rainfall, the State took one-half of it. (ii) Where agriculture depended on well-irrigation the share of the State was one-third in the case of grain, and from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ in the case of grape, sugar-cane, anise, plantain, pea-wort, and other special and high-priced crops requiring laborious watering and length of culture. (iii) Where the field was irrigated from canals (*pât*), the proportion of the revenue to the crop varied, being sometimes higher and sometimes lower than in lands irrigated from wells.

His third method of revenue settlement was the elaborate and complex one of Northern India. The standard or maximum Government share was one-fourth of the total produce, whether grain or pot-herb, fruit or seed. The revenue at the fixed *rate of so many rupees per bigha* was assessed and collected after considering the quantity and quality of the crop from seed-time

to harvest and its market-price, and actually measuring the sown area. Hence, its name of *jarib* (survey). Under Murshid Quli this became the prevalent system in the *subahs* of Mughal Deccan and was known for centuries afterwards as "the *dhárá* of Murshid Quli Khan."

His excellent system, backed by his constant vigilance and personal supervision, led to the improvement of agriculture and increase of the revenue in a few years. In 1658 the accurate observer Bhimsen Burhanpuri saw not a single piece of waste land near Aurangabad; wheat and pulse sold at $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds a rupee, *jawar* and *bajra* at $3\frac{1}{2}$ maunds, molasses at half a maund, and yellow oil (*ghee*?) at four seers.*

Immediately on assuming the viceroyalty, Aurangzib sent off his own men to the different sub-divisions to take over charge of the localities.

Official changes
made by Aurang-
zib.

He found that the official staff must be greatly increased before the country could be brought under proper control, and much money must be spent before the administration could be made efficient. And he acted accordingly. First, there was a wholesale redistribution of offices; old and incompetent men were dismissed or removed to minor posts; a number of officers of

* *Dilkasha*, 25, 26, 38.

proved ability were selected by the Prince, and to them all situations of trust and importance were given.* This change of personnel was naturally accompanied by a reshuffling of *jagirs*. As we have already seen, able officers were left in undisturbed possession of their old *jagirs* if these were good, or given better ones if they were unproductive. The loss of the change fell only on the undeserving or minor officers.

After thus securing for himself and his leading officers the income necessary for maintaining their contingents, he fought and won for them another battle with the Imperial accounts department. In order to reduce expenditure, Shah Jahan ordered that every military officer serving in the Deccan should bring his force to the muster, and the troop horses should be branded, so that commanders who had been keeping less than their proper contingents while drawing full pay, might be asked to refund the sums they had thus taken in excess from the State. Aurangzib pleaded for them by pointing out the real state of affairs in the Deccan: no officer could realise the full amount of his nominal pay from his *jagir*; many had failed even to take possession of the lands

* *Adab*, 26b, 24a & b, 25b.

assigned to them; their main support was the cash allowance paid from the Treasury. If, therefore, by reason of the shortage in the regulation number of their retainers, a part of their former salaries was debited against them and the amount recovered by deduction from their pay in future, the officers would be worse off than before. The operation of the order would decrease the strength of the army, which was a dangerous contingency in "a province on the frontier of two rich and armed rulers." Shah Jahan had decreased the stipend of armed followers from Rs. 20 per month to Rs. 17 or even Rs. 15. Aurangzib protested against this

and raises the
pay of troopers.

order, saying that a horseman who got less than Rs. 20 a month could not possibly keep himself in proper fighting trim, especially as, under Murshid Quli Khan's metayership settlement, rent was now paid in kind and the rent-receivers had to undergo heavy expenditure in watching and storing their share of the grain. The price of horses (he added) had greatly risen in the Deccan, and to make up the full complements of all the officers in the terms of Shah Jahan's new order would require the entertainment of 9,000 additional mounted retainers by the officers. As the result of Aurangzib's protest

Shah Jahan raised the stipend of each trooper to Rs. 20 a month, and the order about muster and branding was apparently dropped.*

Keen on securing military efficiency, Aurangzib first of all assured that financial support without which an army cannot be kept up to the mark. About his own immediate followers he wrote to the Emperor, "Your Majesty well knows that I seldom make useless expenditure. What I get from you, I spend in supporting the army. Now, as my men are paid in cash, my contingent will decrease in the same proportion as my cash allowance is reduced."†

The Deccan being far away from the centre of the Empire, the officers posted there used to embezzle the public money and to neglect their duty, without fear of inspection and detection. We have seen how one governor, Islam Khan, used to make money by selling the stores of the forts dear and afterwards buying fresh provisions cheap. Fifty years afterwards the Venetian traveller Manucci noted the utterly decayed and neglected condition of the Mughal

Improvement of forts in these parts. But in 1650
garrison artillery Mir Khalil, a very able and
by Mir Khalil. energetic officer, was appointed

* *Adab*, 29b, 35a, 97a.

† *Adab*, 33a, 172a.

Inspector General of Ordnance (*darogha-i-topkhanah*) for the Deccan, and he soon made a clean sweep of the old abuses. Though a mere inspector, "his achievements surpassed those of provincial viceroys." He visited every fort, inspected everything, great and small, and supplied every place with the requisite store of food and munitions. Everywhere he found evidence of neglect and corruption. Old and useless men were being borne on the establishment of the artillery and swelling the expenditure, without doing any service at all. Mir Khalil made them undergo an examination in musketry. Setting up a target three yards square, he gathered all the artillerymen and gave them the chance of three shots from their matchlocks at a range of forty paces. Those who could not hit the mark even once were dismissed. Old and disabled soldiers were put on pension in consideration of their past services. Thus in a month and a half this "honest, hardworking, and expert officer" effected a saving of Rs. 50,000 a year, while actually improving the efficiency of the arm.* He continued at his post till 18th July, 1653, when he was transferred, on a higher rank and pay, to the responsible post of commandant

* *M. U. i.* 166, 786, 787, *Waris* 39b, 79b, *Storia do Mogor*, iii. 485.

of Dharur, a fort on the frontier. Aurangzib highly commended his expert knowledge of artillery matters and success as an administrator, saying, "The presence of such an officer in a frontier fort gives me peace of mind." His successor was Hushdar Khan, a capital marksman, who held the Inspectorship of Ordnance for a year only. The next to fill the office was Shamsuddin (the son of Mukhtar Khan), appointed in the middle of 1654,—who, too, greatly pleased Aurangzib by his ability and received many favours from the Prince.*

Aurangzib's second viceroyalty of the Deccan was marked by a series of wrangles with his father, for which, as Causes of Aurangzib's differences with the Emperor. Aurangzib's version alone is before us, the chief blame seems to fall on Shan Jahan. Either Aurangzib's enemies had got hold of the Emperor's ears, or the latter failed to appreciate the Prince's difficulties in the South. But the result was that Aurangzib was misunderstood, suspected, and unjustly reprimanded from the very beginning of his term of office. And the bitterness of feeling thus roused was one of the reasons why the War of Succession was conducted so heartlessly and

* *Adab*, 30b, 27b, 39b, *Waris*, 87a, *M. U.* iii. 943—946, 620—623.

unscrupulously. So complete was the estrangement that, during this long viceroyalty of more than five years, Aurangzib was not once invited to visit his father in Northern India, and, what is almost incredible, among the presents made to the Emperor on his birthdays and the anniversaries of his coronation none from Aurangzib is mentioned in the official history, though the other princes made costly offerings! While Dara's sons were basking in the Imperial favour and every year receiving jewels and cash gifts worthy of princes, only once did Aurangzib's sons get anything from their Imperial grand-father.

At the very time of his appointment to the Deccan Aurangzib objected to it as his *jagirs* there would yield 17 lakhs of rupees less than the fertile fiefs he was holding in Sindh. "What, I wonder, is the reason of this decrease and of my transfer?" he asked. Before he had reached the Deccan, he was taxed by the Emperor with moving too slowly and taking four months in going from Peshawar to his charge, which had been without a ruler for two months. Aurangzib's explanation was the difficulty of the roads and the unpreparedness of his troops, who had just returned from the arduous campaign of Qandahar and had got no time to visit their *jagirs* and collect money for fitting themselves

out for the transfer to the Deccan. Even after reaching Burhanpur Aurangzib had no peace; the Emperor urged him to proceed to Daulatabad, his capital, as soon as possible after the rainy season. The Prince excused himself for lingering ten months at Burhanpur, on the grounds of pressure of work and the heavy rains at the end of the monsoons that year. Then again, his proposal to be given more productive *jagirs* in exchange of the existing ones, was the cause of a prolonged and acrimonious correspondence with the Emperor, as we have seen.

In some cases the viceroy's recommendations for postings and promotions among his subordinates were not accepted by the Emperor, and the Prince could only protest his own helplessness in the matter and justify his nominations. In a few instances, such as the Inspectorship of Ordnance, he carried his point after indignantly writing to his father, "I have been a *subahdar* since the age of 18 years, and I have never recommended a single man who has proved unfit for his post.....The Chief of Artillery should be an expert marksman. I recommended such a person. He has not done any dishonest act. But your Majesty has ordered the post to be given to another."*

* *Adab*, 27b, 28a & b, 29a, 129b.

such as elephant catching, sending mangoes to Court, securing skilled weavers for the Imperial cloth factory, the Golkonda tribute, &c., there were differences between father and son.*

Next, Shah Jahan quickly lost patience and complained of Aurangzib's failure to restore cultivation and prosperity in the Deccan. Aurangzib rightly answered that it was too early to judge him. "I have always tried to extend tillage and increase the number of houses; but as I am not a vain man I have not reported it to you. A country that has been desolated by various calamities cannot be made flourishing in two or three years!...How can I, in one season or two, bring back to cultivation a *parganah* which has been unproductive of revenue for twenty years?" But Shah Jahan was not satisfied. He often made caustic remarks in open Court about Aurangzib's promise of restoring prosperity to the Deccan and the wretched condition of the province. He even contemplated a change of viceroys as likely to mend matters, and asked Shuja if he would accept the *subahdari* of the Deccan as Aurangzib could not govern the province well.†

Another cause of friction was the charge of

* *Adab*, 177a & b, 24b, 31b, 32a, 193b, 191b.

† *Adab* 28a, 32a & b, *Faiyas-ul-qawanin*, 354.

diplomatic relations with Bijapur and Golkonda. Aurangzib justly contended that the Mughal envoys at these Courts should take their orders from the viceroy of the Deccan and the Imperial correspondence with them should pass through his hands, "as a better policy and in order to secure greater obedience to the Imperial wishes."* But this power was conceded to him only towards the close of his administration, and even then not fully.

Later on we find Shah Jahan charging Aurangzib with receiving costly presents from the king of Golkonda without crediting their price against the tribute due. Aurangzib easily showed that these presents were of small value, the precious stones were full of flaws, and they were all a personal gift to himself and his eldest son.† By a Nemesis of fate, a generation afterwards Aurangzib, then Emperor, suspected his son Muazzam of having formed a secret understanding with the king of Golkonda.

In May 1653 we find Aurangzib replying thus to some charge brought against him in one of the Emperor's letters, "What your Majesty has heard against me is false. I consider such conduct

* *Adab*, 24b.

† *Adab*, 84b, 85a and b, 192b, 107b.

towards others as very improper.”* The nature of the accusation is not known to us. Was it the affair of Zainabadi, which must have happened at this time ?

Again, the Emperor took him to task for employing all the best weavers at Burhanpur in his private factory and thereby depriving the Imperial factory of its labour supply. Aurangzib denied the allegation altogether, but the Emperor ordered all cloth factories at Burhanpur to be closed with the exception of the Imperial. This was a public humiliation for the viceroy.†

At one time Aurangzib was so disgusted with being constantly misunderstood, censured, and hampered by the Emperor, that he refused to take a most necessary step on his own initiative. Murshid Quli Khan had recommended an advance of Rs. 50,000 as loan to the peasants of Khandesh and Berar. Aurangzib simply referred

Aurangzib's disgust at his father's unkind treatment.

the matter to the Emperor, and when he was told that he ought to have advanced the money from the Imperial revenue, he replied with bitterness, “No wonder that I did not take the responsibility of doing it, seeing that I have been taken to task for acts which I never did.

* *Adab*, 26a.

† *Adab*, 98b, 176b.!

In my first viceroyalty I did not wait for previous sanction in such matters. But now I have grown more cautious!" Indeed, in one of his letters to his sister Jahanara he complains that though he had served his father faithfully for twenty years he was favoured with much less power and confidence than his nephew Sulaiman Shukoh.*

Before turning to the two great wars undertaken by Aurangzib during this period we shall describe his MINOR EXPEDITIONS.

In the 16th and 17th centuries much of the modern Central Provinces owned the sway of aboriginal Gond chiefs and was known in history under the name of Gondwana. The great Gond kingdom of Garh-Mandla had been crippled by a Mughal invasion and sack of the capital in Akbar's reign, and, later, by Bundela encroachments from the north. But about the middle of the 17th century another Gond kingdom, with its capital at Deogarh, rose to greatness, and extended its sway over the districts of Betul, Chindwara and Nagpur, and portions of Seoni, Bhandara and Balaghat. In the southern part of Gondwana stood the town of Chanda, the seat of a third Gond dynasty. A king of

* *Adab*, 41a & b, 177a.

Chanda had visited the Court of Delhi in the 16th century, and his family had ever since been loyally attached to the empire, because this was their only protection from their hereditary foe and rival, the Rajah of Deogarh.*

For a short time the DEOGARH Kingdom became so powerful as to over-shadow Mandla and Chanda the Mughals. and to take the first place among the Gond States. Its wealth was vast enough to tempt the cupidity of the Mughals. We have seen how in 1637 Khan-i-Dauran invaded this kingdom, stormed the fort of Nagpur, and forced Rajah Kukia to pay a large contribution down and to promise an annual tribute of 1½ lakhs of rupees. Kesari Singh had succeeded his father Kukia in 1640, after presenting a fee of four lakhs of rupees to the Emperor.† But under him the tribute fell into arrears, and repeated demands for it produced no effect. So, in 1655, Shah Jahan ordered the country to be invaded, especially as the Mughal army in the Deccan had its hands free and the Rajah of Deogarh was said to possess 200 elephants, which would be a rich booty. Aurangzib point-

* "Deogarh, a village about 24 miles S. W. of Chindwara, picturesquely situated on a crest of the hill." *Imp. Gazetteer*, X. 206, 13. Waris, 73a.

† Chapter III.

ed out that by deputing an officer to Deogarh he had ascertained that the Rajah was really very poor and had only 14 elephants. He therefore, asked for orders whether Deogarh should be annexed or only the tribute realised, and then added ironically, "Send me the man who has told you of the Rajah having got 200 elephants, and he will guide my troops to the place where these elephants are!" This false information, as may be easily imagined, had come from the envious Rajah of Chanda. Shah Jahan ordered Deogarh to be conquered and annexed. Aurangzib wrote back to say, "It can be easily conquered, but not so easily held or controlled. The annual cost of administration will be very high."*

On 12 October, 1655, the expedition started in two divisions, one under Expedition sent against Deogarh Mirza Khan, the Deputy Governor of Berar, by way of Elichpur, and the other under Hadidad Khan, the Deputy Governor of Telingana, by way of Nagpur,—with orders to converge upon Deogarh. Manji, the Rajah of Chanda, co-operated with the invaders. Kesari Singh was crushed between the two walls of foes. He humbly waited on Mirza Khan, and promised to pay up his arrears

* *Adab*, 42a and b, Waris, 105a.

and to be more punctual in future. Only twenty elephants were found in his possession, and these were taken away. The Rajah accompanied the victorious troops on their return, and paid his respects to Aurangzib on 8th January, 1656. He promised to pay five lakhs in cash and kind in the ^{extorts sub-}mission. course of the year, on account of his tribute, present and past, and to cede certain *parganahs*, the revenue of which would be set apart for the payment of the tribute in future. Kesari Singh with a good body of armed retainers accompanied Aurangzib to the siege of Golkonda and rendered good service, praying only for some remission of his piled up arrears of tribute in return.*

The later history of Deogarh may be conveniently narrated here. In 1667 ^{Later history of Deogarh.} Dilir Khan with an Imperial army entered the kingdom, and imposed a contribution of 15 lakhs on the Rajah, while raising the annual tribute to two lakhs. He had realised about half the current year's tribute, when he was sent to succeed Jai Singh as subahdar of the Deccan,—an officer being left in the Gond kingdom to collect the balance. Towards the close of the century, a new Rajah of

* *Adab*, 43a, 45a, 46a, 47a, *Waris*, 105b.

Deogarh was so hard pressed by other claimants to the throne that he went to Aurangzib, accepted Islam as the price of Imperial support against his rivals, and promised to serve in the Emperor's wars with the Marathas. Aurangzib, proud of effecting a conversion, baptised the Rajah as *Buland Bakht* or Lucky (1686). But, afterwards (1699) the Rajah's rival died, he fled to his own country and sided with the Maratha raiders! The Emperor was too busy with his enemies in the South to punish him. He vented his impotent rage by ordering the traitor's name to be changed in the official papers into *Nagun Bakht* or Luckless! The Deogarh chief extended his kingdom at the expense of Chanda and Mandla, and founded the city of Nagpur, which his son, Chand Sultan, walled round and made his capital.*

The little State of JAWHAR stands north of
of Bombay on a plateau between
Invasion of the
Jawhar State;
the Western Ghats and the
Arabian Sea. On the north and
east it adjoined the Mughal districts of Baglana
and Nasik respectively, and on the south it
touched the Konkan. Through it one could have
access to the rich port of Chaul. Except in
some places in the south and west, the country

* *Imp. Gazetteer*, x. 13, 206, Khafi Khan, ii. 207, 461, *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, 273.

is elevated, rocky, and forest-clad. Its safety lay in the great difficulty which an invader found in crossing the Ghats and penetrating into the country from the land side. A line of Rajahs of the Koli tribe, founded early in the 14th century, ruled the State, and was at this time engaged in a long but successful struggle with the Portuguese power in Northern Konkan. The Rajah, named Sripat, paid no tribute nor owned the overlordship of the Emperor. So, at Aurangzib's suggestion, Shah Jahan sanctioned a war against him. Rao Karan, the chief of Bikanir, had long served in the Mughal wars of the Decan. He now promised to conquer Jawhar with his own men, if it were granted to him as a fief on a tribute of Rs. 50,000. The Rajput general started from Aurangabad on 3rd October, 1655, threaded his way through a difficult pass in the Western Ghats and approached the frontier of Jawhar. At this Sripat offered submission (5th January, 1656), and bought safety by paying an indemnity, promising to alienate
its success.

a certain portion of his territory for the payment of tribute in future, and sending his son with Rao Karan as a hostage. The expedition returned to Aurangzib on 20th January.*

* *Imp. Gazetteer*, xiv. 87 and 88, Waris, 106a, *Adab*, 37b, 39b, 47a.

CHAPTER X.

INVASION OF GOLKONDA, 1656.

GOLKONDA was a very fertile and carefully irrigated country, with a large wealth of the industrious population. The kingdom. capital, Haidarabad, was at this time the centre of the diamond trade, not of Asia alone, but of the whole world. Numbers of foreign traders assembled here and transacted business. The kingdom was famous for several industries. The steel works of Nirmal and Indur (two villages north of the city) supplied the raw materials for the world-famed Damascus blades, and the local out-turn of swords, lances and daggers was distributed in large quantities over all parts of India. The skilled cloth-weavers of Masulipatam were sought after for the Imperial factories of Burhanpur and Delhi, and the chintz woven there had a continental celebrity. The carpet industry of Ellore, conducted entirely by Muhammadans, was

famous for centuries. To its smiling cornfields, tanks teeming with fish, and flourishing handicrafts, must be added the diamond and gold mines which made the name of Golkonda known even in far-off Europe. The kingdom also possessed in Masulipatam the best anchorage in the Bay of Bengal and the only place on the East Coast whence ships sailed for Pegu, Siam, Bengal, Cochin China, the Manillas, and even Mecca and Madagascar. The forests of the kingdom sheltered large herds of highly prized elephants, which added to the wealth of the king. Tobacco and the palm flourished exceedingly, and the excise on tobacco and toddy juice yielded a large revenue.*

Since his return to the Deccan in 1653, Aurangzib had frequent cause to quarrel with the king of Golkonda. The annual tribute of two lakhs of *hun* was always in arrears, and frequent dunning on the part of the Mughal viceroy only met with excuses and petitions for delay. The Emperor asked the Sultan to pay half his tribute in cash and the other half in elephants, of which he had a vast stable. But even this was not done. At

* This description is based on Tavernier, i. 150—158, 175, 274, Gribble's *History of the Deccan*, i. 269, *Imperial Gazetteer*, xii. 23. *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, 55b, 50a, 46b, 37a, 54b.

last Aurangzib demanded the alienation of a certain part of Golkonda territory, the revenue of which would be collected by Imperial officers and set apart for the payment of the tribute.*

Next, the exchange value of the *hun* rose from Rs. 4 in 1636 to Rs. $4\frac{1}{2}$ and finally in 1654 to Rs. 5 each. Qutb Shah had been paying his tribute at the old rate of eight lakhs of rupees a year. The Mughals now demanded that the difference due to exchange for *all the past years* should be paid at once. A new burden of 20 lakhs of rupees was thus thrown on the shoulders of the Sultan who had been tottering under the load of the normal tribute.†

Then he was rebuked for not having taken his over-lord's sanction before conquering the Karnatak. But he was told that the offence could be atoned for by paying a large sum as present to the Emperor! When Aurangzib's agent, Muhammad Mumin, was sent ostensibly to protect Sri Ranga, the Rajah of Karnatak, Qutb Shah was warned not to hinder him, with a clear hint that the proposed intervention could be bought off!‡ Lastly there was the affair of Mir Jumla which precipitated war, and of which a detailed account will be now given.

* *Adab*, 54a & b, 56b.

† *Adab*, 56a, Waris, 113a.

‡ *Adab*, 54b-55b, 44a & b.

The treaties of 1636 has divided the old Ahmadnagar territory between the Emperor of Delhi and the Sultan of Bijapur, made Golkonda a protected tributary State, and clearly marked out the boundary between the Empire and the two Deccani monarchies.* Barred in the north by the strong arm of the Mughals, these two States began to give employment to their troops and a free vent to their ambition by engaging in a career of conquest in other directions. Bijapur

The Karnatak
conquered by
Bijapur and
Golkonda.

took possession of the Nizam Shahi Konkan, which had been ceded to it by the treaty with the Emperor, and even attacked the Portuguese possessions north of Goa with some success. Golkonda was cut off by foreign territory from the west. But it was in the eastern side of Southern India that both the Sultans found free scope for expansion. The whole of the Karnatak, from the river Krishna to Tanjore beyond the Kaveri, was covered with a number of petty Hindu principalities, the jarring fragments of the ruined empire of Vijaynagar. These now rapidly fell a prey to Muslim arms. The Golkonda troops advanced conquering to the Bay of Bengal, and occupied the country from the Chilka lake to the Penner river.

* Chapter III.

Their raiding bands penetrated as far north as Khurda, the seat of the faineant Rajah of Orissa. The Gajapati Rajah of Ganjam was ousted by the Golkonda Sultan in 1571. Chicacole became the seat of a Qutb Shahi faujdar some time before 1641, when a handsome mosque was built there by Shir Muhammad Khan, the first faujdar. In 1652 a Rajput officer of Golkonda seized Vizagapatam and extending his conquest formed a petty Rajahship.*

Bijapur advanced conquering southwards and then turned east till it occupied the coast between Jinji and Tanjore. Hemmed in the north and south by the conquests of the two Sultans, as between the two jaws of a monster, lay the kingdom of Chandragiri, the last remnant of the Vijaynagar empire, with its territory contracted to the region from Nellore to Pondicherry on the east and the Mysore frontier on the west. On the death of Rama Raja, the minister and virtual ruler of Vijaynagar, on the fatal field of Talikota (1564), and the subsequent sack of the capital by the Muslims, his brother had removed the seat of government to Pennakonda

* *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII. 23 (Rajmahendri captured, 1572), X. 217 (Chicacole), XII. 145, XXIV. 339. Sewell's *Sketch of Dynasties*, 48 & 69, (the Palnad country and the country about Kurnool and Nellore were seized and Kondavidu secured by bribery in 1580).

(1567). This brother's son transferred the capital to Chandragiri (about 1600). At this time the throne of Chandragiri was occupied by Sri Ranga, who gave the site of Madras city to the English in 1639, and whom the Muhammadan historians style *Sri Ranga Rāyal*, *zamindar of Karnatak*.* There was now a race between the Golkonda and Bijapur kings for the absorption of his kingdom; the two jaws began rapidly to close from the north and the south upon the doomed Karnatak. In this work of conquest a most conspicuous part was played by Mir Jumla, the *wazir* of Golkonda.

Muhammad Said, known to history as MIR JUMLA,† was a Syed of Ardistan in Persia, and the son of an oil-merchant of Isfahan. Leaving his native Golkonda, country in youth, he like other Shiah adventurers, sought his fortune at the Courts of the Deccani Sultans who belonged to his sect, (1630). As a diamond merchant he

* Sewell in *Sketch of Dynasties*, (110—112) calls him Sri Ranga III, and in *A Forgotten Empire*, (233-234) Sri Ranga VI. *Adub* 33b. S. Krishna-swami Aiyangar's *Ancient India*, 296.

† This account of Mir Jumla is based on Tavernier, i. 170, 259, 273, 284—293 295, Bernier, 16—19. Gribble, i. 269—271, *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 530—555 (life of Mir Jumla). For his character see Talish's *Fathiyya-i-ibriyya* (Conquest of Assam).

rose to great wealth by his shrewdness and business capacity. His wonderful talents gained him the favour of Abdullah Qutb Shah, who made him his prime minister. Mir Jumla's industry, rapid despatch of business, administrative capacity, military genius, and inborn power of leadership ensured his success in all that he undertook. Great alike in civil government and in war, he soon became the virtual ruler of Golkonda: nothing could reach the Sultan without first securing his approval. Sent by his master to the Karnatak, he soon effected a complete transformation of his vast conquests and wealth. there. Hitherto Kambam*, on the N. E. side of the Cuddapah district, had been the limit of Golkonda advance in that direction. All the attempts of the Sultans had failed to conquer the uplands of the Karnatak, where the Rajah of Chandragiri still held sway. Mir Jumla strengthened himself by securing a number of European gunners and cannon-founders, raised his army to a high state of discipline and efficiency, and soon wrested the Cuddapah district. His crowning feat was the capture of the rock fortress of Gandikota, hitherto deemed impregnable.

* 15° 34' N. 79° 12' E.

Sidhout,* east of Cuddapah, was also conquered, and his captains penetrated as far as Chandragiri and Tirupati in the North Arcot district. By looting the rich old temples of the South and hunting out buried treasure, Mir Jumla amassed a vast fortune. The huge Hindu idols of copper were brought away in numbers, to be melted and cast into cannon! By diligently working the diamond mines which he farmed from his sovereign or discovered by his own exertions, he multiplied his wealth, till he came to be known as the richest private man in the South and the owner of twenty maunds of diamonds. On entering Shah Jahan's service he made presents worth 15 lakhs of rupees to the Emperor, besides what he gave to Aurangzib and his eldest son. By his conquests he raised his *jagir* in the Karnatak into a kingdom 300 miles long and 50 miles broad, yielding a revenue of 40 lakhs a year, and possessing several diamond mines. At his own cost and under his absolute command he maintained an army of 5,000 well-mounted and well-equipped cavalry, besides the 4,000 troops of the Golkonda king's service, whose captains he had won over. His foot numbered 20,000 strong. An excellent park of

* Sidhout is nine miles due east and Gandikota 42 miles N. W. of Cuddapah town. Both are situated on the Penner river.

artillery and a large number of trained elephants completed his war equipage. Thus he had made himself fully independent of his master and the virtual king of the Karnatak. In short, it has been well said by one historian that though Mir Jumla's rank was that of a noble, he possessed the power wealth and grandeur of a ruling prince.*

Mir Jumla's growing power and wealth roused the alarm of his master. Envious courtiers were not wanting to whisper to the Sultan of Golkonda that the absent *wazir's* armed strength was a menace to his own security, and that the servant's wealth overshadowed the grandeur of the master's Court. Qutb Shah, too, naturally wished to have a share of his *wazir's* gains. In the conquest of the Karnatak the two had acted as partners; Mir Jumla had supplied the brain and leadership, while the Sultan had lent him the necessary men and money and the protection of his name, in the first stage at all events. They now quarrelled about the profits. Qutb Shah tried to treat Mir

* At Haidarabad a tank, a garden, and a mansion bear his name. Some distance outside the city a village (*pettah*) was founded and named after him. "He has left many memorials of himself in Telingana where he lived long." (*M. U.*, iii. 555) Waris, 102a, 111a and b, 114a, 118a, *Adab*, 39a, 116a. Tavernier, i. 170n, Bernier, 17.

Jumla as a mere servant and to escheat to the State what he had acquired in its service. Mir Jumla, on the other hand, knowing how weak and worthless his master was, regarded the conquest as entirely his own work and his gains as the fruits of his own exclusive toil. After having tasted regal independence in the Karnatak he was loth to return to the life of a courtier. But he could not long disobey the summons of his master. So, he once went back to Golkonda. The Sultan conspired with other courtiers to seize and blind him, but Mir Jumla learnt of the plot before it was matured, and cleverly managed to escape to the Karnatak, vowing never to visit Golkonda again. The Sultan kept calling him back with increasing persistence, but it only served to confirm Mir Jumla's suspicion. At last the mask was thrown away, and Qutb Shah openly undertook to crush his disobedient servant.*

Mir Jumla now looked around for protection. He offered to enter the service of the Sultan of Bijapur, and to hold the Karnatak of him, and as an earnest presented him with some lockets (*padak*) richly set with diamonds and gems, which he had extorted from the Rajah of

who intrigues
with Bijapur and
Persia,

* *Adab*, 30a, 36b, 72b, Tavernier, i. 165.

Chandragiri.* Adil Shah was overjoyed at the prospect of acquiring such a precious servant, the ablest man in the Deccan since Malik Ambar's time. But Bijapur was only one of the many strings to Mir Jumla's bow. He was also intriguing with the Shah of Persia† and asking for an asylum with him. What he evidently wanted to secure was a safe retreat to Persia with all his wealth, if matters came to the worst and he found the Karnatak no longer tenable against a combination of his foes. Nearer home he ably turned enemies into friends. The despoiled Rajah of Chandragiri was conciliated and assured that he would not be further molested, if he stood by Mir Jumla.‡ Years ago Bijapur and Golkonda had almost come to blows about the partition of the Karnatak. The Muslim conquerors advancing from the north and the south of the province had met near the northern frontier of the South Arcot district and each had wished to push the other back.§ But Mir Jumla now made a peaceful settlement: by mutual consent

* *Adab*, 195b & 196a, Waris, 119a & b.

† *Ruqat-i-Shah Abbas Sani*, 154—156, gives the reply of the Persian king to Mir Jumla's offer to enter his service.

‡ *Adab*, 36b, 39a.

§ *Adab*, 27b.

a line drawn east to west some distance north of Jinji became the boundary between Adil Shahi Karnatak and Qutb Shahi Karnatak. In addition to this, Mir Jumla made friends with Ikhlas Khan,* the Abyssinian governor of Bijapuri Karnatak, who probably wished to imitate his disloyal example and make his viceroyalty an independent State. The Golkonda generals and troops posted in the Karnatak were already bound by close ties of self-interest and favours to Mir Jumla's side. The Sultan had no instrument with which he could punish his refractory servant.

Mir Jumla had also begun to coquet with the Mughal power. Indeed, in this case the first solicitation had come from the other side. Aurangzib, secretly nursing his passionate ambition of conquering the rich State of Golkonda, was eager to secure such an able helper

**Aurangzib's
secret corres-
pondence for
winning Mir
Jumla over.**

and counsellor as the prime minister of that kingdom. Through the Mughal envoy at Golkonda the Prince opened a secret correspondence with Mir Jumla, promising him not only protection for his family and property against his wrathful master, but also boundless favours from the Emperor, if he

* *Adab*, 39a, 36b.

joined the Mughal service. He also sent an agent, Muhammad Mumin, directly to the prime minister in the Karnatak. But the prudent *wazir* dallied with the offer and waited to see what turn his affairs would take. So, he sent a secret petition for appointment under the Emperor, in order to ascertain what terms he might expect from that quarter.*

These intrigues with three different Courts could not be kept secret. Qutb Shah, hearing of them, tried to conciliate his too-powerful officer. To his friendly overtures Mir Jumla replied that after two years he would either attend on his master or resign his post and leave India.† All this time Aurangzib kept up a busy but secret correspondence with him, and messengers kept running from one to the other. In his excess of eagerness the Prince even approached Muhammad Amin, the son of Mir Jumla. But Shah Jahan's hesitation in replying to the Mir's petition threw the latter into alarm and doubt about the Emperor's intentions. At last, yielding to Aurangzib's importunity, the Emperor offered to Mir Jumla his protection and favour if he came to his Court.‡ But evidently the terms were very

* *Adab*, 30a, 31b, 34b, 36b, 72b; *Waris*, 102b.

† *Adab*, 34b, 44a.

‡ *Adab*, 35a & b, 36a.

vague, and Mir Jumla was in no haste to accept them. He, however, feigned *Mir Jumla's* consent, and begged a year's *duplicity.* respite in which to collect his property from the ports, and keep his promise to Qutb Shah. So, he urged the Mughal Court to keep this agreement secret till then, for if the Deccani Sultans discovered his successful intrigue with the Emperor, they would, he feared, kill him.* In fact three kings were now bidding for his services, and he wished to make the most of the circumstance.

Eager as Aurangzib was to secure Mir Jumla, these delays made his heart turn sick, and he discovered Mir Jumla's duplicity. "I think," he wrote to the Emperor, "that Mir Jumla does not really wish to enter the Imperial service, as he now holds a large kingdom with many fortresses, ports, and strongholds, and has disgusted the Sultan of Bijapur by declining to enter his service. His proposal to take the Emperor's pay is only a matter of policy. He will not leave that country so long as he can dexterously avert the hostility of the two Sultans."†

Evidently Aurangzib's solicitations ceased, or his agent at Golkonda blundered and the secret

* *Adab*, 38a & b.

† *Adab*, 39a.

of Mir Jumla's understanding with the Emperor leaked out. The two Deccani Sultans, thoroughly angry with the double-dealer, agreed to unite their forces to crush him. It was now Mir Jumla's turn to be as eager as he had been lukewarm before in joining the Mughals. He wrote to the Prince, "I am Shah Jahan's servant and beg to be saved by him." But Aurangzib now hung back. He waited for the attack on Mir Jumla to be actually delivered before sending him the "strong force to escort him" to the Imperial territory which he had promised before.*

Before Qutb Shah could muster either his courage or his forces for the purpose of chastising Mir Jumla, a crisis was precipitated by the conduct of Muhammad Amin, the *wazir's* son. This youngman, haughty and reckless at all times and known as the most audacious of courtiers even when serving a stern master like Aurangzib,† was acting all these years as Mir Jumla's deputy at the Court of Golkonda. His father's wealth and glory turned his head. He gave himself the airs of a prince, spoke slightingly of the Sultan, and treated him with scant courtesy in open Court. Abdullah

Mir Jumla's
family imprison-
ed by king of
Golkonda.

* *Adab*, 40a, 36b.

† *Masir-ul-umara*, iii. 620, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, § 51.

Qutb Shah bore all this meekly. But at last, one day Muhammad Amin came to Court reeling with drunkenness, fell asleep on the king's own carpet, and soiled it in crop sickness. The long-suffering king could not bear this crowning act of insult. His anger boiled over, and he threw Muhammad Amin and his family into prison and attached their property (21st November, 1655.)*

This was the opportunity for which Aurangzib had so long been waiting. Here was a plea for invading and annexing Golkonda, whose wealth had excited his keen longing for years past, though he had had to keep that longing in check in fear of Shah Jahan's sense of justice.

The Prince immediately reported the incident to the Emperor and solicited an urgent sanction of war.† Meantime, on 3rd December, Shah Jahan had despatched a robe of honour and a letter-patent to Mir Jumla, appointing him a Commander of Five Thousand, and his son a Commander of Two Thousand troopers in the Mughal service, together with a letter to Qutb Shah bidding him not to hinder them in coming to

Shah Jahan
takes Mir Jumla
into his service
and orders the
release of his
family,

* *M. U.* iii. 531. Tavernier, i. 166. *Adab*, 45a.

† Waris, 109a.

the Imperial Court, nor to detain any part of their property.* These letters reached Aurangzib on 18th December, and he at once sent the Emperor's letter on to Golkonda, commanding the king to release the family of Mir Jumla immediately and to send them with all their belongings to the Imperial Court in company with the bearer of the letter. If Qutb Shah delayed or disobeyed the order, Aurangzib threatened to send an army under his son against him.† In the meantime, anticipating the Emperor's sanction, he mobilised his troops on the Golkonda frontier for a campaign. Hadidad Khan was ordered to hasten his return from Deogarh and to move directly on Qandahar (a fort midway between Aurangabad and Golkonda), while Aurangzib's eldest son, Muhammad Sultan, was sent (26th Dec.) with the Van of his father's army to Nander to wait for Hadidad Khan.‡

While the storm was thus brewing against him, Qutb Shah seems to have been seized with infatuation. He either ignored or underrated his danger, and his anger was still unallayed. Both Aurangzib's warning of 18th December and

* Waris, 102b.

† *Adab*, 56b & 57a, 45a, 77a. Waris, 109b.

‡ *Adab*, 45a & b. Waris 109b.

Shah Jahan's letter of the third announcing the Imperial protection of Mir Jumla and Muhammad Amin, were disregarded by him.

On hearing (24th December) of Muhammad Amin's captivity, Shah Jahan wrote a letter to Qutb Shah to release Mir Jumla's family. He felt sure that his letter alone would effect the purpose. But "in order to gratify Aurangzib," he rather reluctantly sanctioned threatening war in case of refusal. (29th Dec.) the invasion of Golkonda, *in case* Muhammad Amin was still detained.* Both these letters reached Aurangzib on 7th January, 1656.† He now employed finesse to ruin Golkonda. Without giving Qutb Shah time to receive and follow Shah Jahan's letter of 24th December, which explicitly ordered the release of the captives, he declared that the king's refusal to set them free in spite of the Emperor's letter of 3rd December amounted to that flat disobedience of Imperial orders which had been laid down as a necessary condition for the invasion of Golkonda.

At once Aurangzib ordered Prince Muhammad Sultan, (who had reached Nander on 7th January), to cross the frontier. The young

* Waris, 109b.

Adab, 46a.

Prince started (10th January) and made a dash on Haidarabad with his cavalry. Aurangzib waited at Daulatabad with the main army for a fortnight, because there was some fear of Bijapur coming to the aid of Golkonda in answer to the earnest appeals of Qutb Shah. Indeed, the Bijapur army under Afzal Khan had

Aurangzib
invades Gol-
konda. been massed on the Mughal frontier. But Adil Shah held

back in fear; the danger blew over, and so, on 20th January Aurangzib himself started and quickly marched to join his son. Shivaji had caused some disturbance on the Mughal frontier near Junnar*. But as yet he could be safely neglected. Moreover, his aim was not so much to cause a diversion in favour of Golkonda as to profit by the absence of the Mughal troops.

Meantime, after Muhammad Sultan had entered his territory, Abdullah got Shah Jahan's stern letter of 24th December and at once sent Muhammad Amin with his family and servants to that Prince, together with a humble letter of submission to the Emperor. But Aurangzib had so contrived it that his submission should come too

* *Adab*, 46*a* and *b*, 47*a*, 49*a* and *b*.

late to save him. Muhammad Amin waited on the Prince, 24 miles from Haidarabad (probably on 21st Jan.), but the Prince refused to stop hostilities and pressed on to the capital on the plea that Abdullah had not yet restored the property of the captives. Qutb Shah's last hope was gone; the Mughal cavalry had arrived so fast that he had been taken completely by surprise. Confronted with utter ruin, he sent off to the stronghold of Golkonda his children and such valuable property as could be easily removed, and in the night of 22nd January himself fled from Haidarabad to that fort,—leaving the defence of the capital to three officers and some 17,000 soldiers.*

This flight saved his life because Aurangzib's secret instructions to M. Sultan breathed deadly hostility :

"Qutb-ul-mulk is a coward and will probably offer no resistance. Surround his palace with your artillery and also post a detachment to bar his flight to Golkonda. But before doing so, send a carefully chosen messenger to him, saying, 'I had so long been expecting that you would meet me and hospitably ask me to stay with you. But as you have not done so, I have myself come to you.' Immediately on delivering this message, attack him impetuously and, if you can manage it, *lighten his neck of the burden of his head*. The best means of achieving this plan are cleverness, promptitude, and lightness of hand."†

* Waris, 109b, *Adab*, 49a, 80b.

† *Adab*, 187b.

On 23rd January the invaders arrived at the Husain Sagar tank, two miles north of Haidarabad. Confusion reigned in the counsels of Golkonda. The king had never before ruled his servants, and now he was more helpless than a child and more unnerved than a woman. His officers acted without concert, having no common leader and no definite plan of action. While one minister waited on M. Sultan with a casket of gems as a peace-offering, others made a demonstration against the Mughal army, but were soon driven back with loss. Next day the young Prince entered Haidarabad. A strong party was posted in the city under Muhammad Beg to prevent plunder and violence, to reassure the citizens, and to man the city walls. As the palace and most of the houses were built of wood, strict orders were given to guard watchfully against fire; for, some years before this, the screen of the king's Hall had been accidentally set ablaze by a candle, and the fire had spread to the roof and thence to the neighbouring houses, and smouldered for fully a month.*

These arrangements were made none too soon. Haidarabad was one of the richest cities of India. Besides being the capital of a flourishing monar-

* Waris, 109b & 110a. *Adab*, 49a & b.

chy, it was the centre of the diamond trade of the world and the seat of many fine arts. A vast concourse of nobles, officers, traders, and artisans filled the city and its extensive suburb (named Aurangabad)* across the Musa river. From the night of the 22nd to the noon of the 24th, plunder raged in the city unchecked.

Plunder of the city.

The king had left behind him all his costly carpets, Chinaware, furniture, &c., besides elephants and horses. Muhammad Sultan inspected the royal property, closed the doors of the palace, and placed a guard over it. The looting of Haidarabad was the talk of all India in that age. As Aurangzib's equerry, Aqil Khan Razi, wrote in his history, "Most of the stores and property of Qutb-ul-mulk, such as precious books and other costly things beyond computation, were plundered by Prince M. Sultan....Much of Qutb-ul-mulk's property,—among the rareties of the age,—was confiscated by Aurangzib. But so rich was the king and so vast his wealth that, in spite of these several acts of looting, so much treasure was left behind at Aurangzib's retreat that nobody could suppose that the treasury and palace had been looted." Another historian, Bhimsen, records that the Mughal army gathered much booty in the city,

* Tavernier, i. 152.

and a vast amount in cash and kind was seized in the king's palace.*

Abdullah Qutb Shah continued to send almost daily envoys to the Prince offering submission and costly presents in the hope of making peace. He restored Mir Jumla's property. But the Prince could settle nothing in his father's absence. Abdullah had, therefore, no help but to solicit aid from Bijapur and to put Golkonda in a state of defence in the meantime.

Aurangzib arrived on the scene on 6th February with the bulk of his army. With the vigour and promptitude that Aurangzib be-
sieges Golkonda, marked all his actions, he first made a reconnaissance of the fort and its environs, before retiring to his tent to refresh himself after the fatigue of a fortnight's forced march. A large Golkonda force, about 15,000 strong, appeared in the plain and fired at the Mughals from a distance. The fort-guns co-operated with them. Evidently the position of the Imperial army was made untenable, for Aurangzib had to drive his elephant forward and order a general advance of his troops for repelling the enemy. But the struggle was long and severe, and the losses heavy. The fight raged till evening, when the enemy retired,

* Waris, 110a, *Adab*, 50a, Aqil Khan, 13, *Dilkasha*, 16.

some going back to the fort, others into the jungle outside it.

Next day the siege* of Golkonda began. The west side was unoccupied, but Mughal officers entrenched on the other three sides. A regular siege was impossible, as Aurangzib had made a quick march with light artillery, while the fort had guns of large calibre. Moreover, Shaista Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan, and other officers in command of reinforcements had not yet arrived, nor had the big guns ordered from the fort of Ausa.† Aurangzib, therefore, contented himself with holding the city and surrounding the fort, to prevent the escape of the king, while he waited for reinforcements and Shah Jahan's fresh commands. His first expectation of murdering Qutb Shah and capturing his kingdom by a sudden *coup* had failed, and he had to resort to slower methods for which he was not prepared. The leaguer of Golkonda lasted from 7th February to 30th March, and was conducted very languidly, because, with the materials at his disposal, he could do no injury to such an impregnable fortress. Sometimes the siege-trenches were attacked by

* For the history of the siege, Waris, 110a—112b, *Adab*, 81a. Tavernier, i. 166—169.

† Shaista Khan arrived on 21st Feb., and two big guns from Ausa on 1st March, 1656. (Waris, 111a & b.)

sorties of the defenders. Battles took place with the Golkonda troops hovering round, on 11th and 12th February in the environs of the fort, and on 13th March at a place 20 miles from it. The Deccanis, as usual, retired after some exchange of fire, being unable or unwilling to stand the charge of the dreaded Mughal cavalry. Their mode of warfare was Parthian, and their aim to wear out the enemy and cut off his supplies.

These skirmishes were varied by the almost daily arrival of presents and offers of peace from the beleaguered king to the invader's camp! But Aurangzib steadily refused to make terms.

He coveted the whole kingdom and nothing less. The fertility of Golkonda, the world-wide fame of its diamond mines, the wealth of its kings, the skill of its artisans, had roused his keenest greed. Soon after crossing the frontier, even before he had seen "the rich populous and flourishing city of Haidarabad," he had written to his father, "What shall I write about the beauty of this country—its abundance of water and population, its good air, and its extensive cultivation,—which I saw on the way? At every stage after crossing the frontier I met with many large tanks, springs of sweet water, run-

ning streams, inhabited villages with large patches of cultivated land attached to them. Not a piece of land without tillage. Such a money-yielding country, unmatched by the Imperial dominions, has fallen into this wretch's hands!"* And again, "Golkonda is a spacious kingdom, well-cultivated, rich in mines of diamond, crystal, &c." He plied his father with all sorts of arguments to secure his consent to its annexation: Qutb-ul-mulk and urges Shah Jahan to annex it. was a godless wretch, ungrateful for Imperial favours, sunk in vices unworthy of a king, a violator of the purity of his subjects' homes, an oppressor against whom the people were invoking the Heavens, a heretic who had perverted all his subjects from the pure Sunni faith, and lastly an ally and financial supporter of the king of Persia.† Not to punish such a heretical ruler would be a failure of duty on the part of an orthodox Islamic emperor! To miss this opportunity of crushing such an enemy would be highly impolitic. "I hope your Majesty will order annexation."‡

* *Adab*, 50a.

† We have two letters from the Persian king to Qutb-ul-mulk, of a later date than this year, in *Ruqat-i-Shah Abbas Sani*, 19—23 and 89—93.

‡ *Adab*, 46b, 50b.

Aurangzib even begged Shah Jahan not to answer Qutb-ul-mulk's submissive letter, nor to listen to the intercessions of Dara and others on his behalf,—because it would result in a great sacrifice of expected gain! When Mir Jumla's son would reach the Court, he would tell the Emperor all about the wealth and weakness of the Golkonda king, and suggest the means of squeezing the utmost out of him. In short, as he wrote, the Emperor “should make the most of this splendid opportunity.”*

But these grotesquely mixed appeals to orthodoxy and cupidity, humanity and ambition, were wasted on Shah Jahan. The Emperor was loth to ruin a brother king for merely trying to bring his disloyal *wazir* under discipline. Dara, who had been bribed and implored by the Golkonda envoy at Delhi,—to the intense disgust and anger

of Aurangzib,†—pleaded hard for Qutb-ul-mulk, and secured peace for him on the payment of an indemnity. The Emperor's

Shah Jahan
orders peace in
return for an
indemnity.

letter accepting this settlement reached Aurangzib on 24th February.‡ But meantime his position at Golkonda had greatly improved. The

* *Adab*, 46b, 49b.

† *Adab*, 59a, 69b.

‡ Waris, 111b.

siege had been pressed closer; many Golkonda officers were deserting to the Mughals daily; and Abdullah was begging for permission to send his mother to Aurangzib to ask his pardon, to promise the payment of the arrears of tribute and a large indemnity, and to propose the marriage of his second daughter with Aurangzib's eldest son. So, Aurangzib suppressed the Emperor's letter of pardon to Qutb-ul-mulk (dated 8th February), lest it should embolden the latter and make him abate his terms. Shah Jahan, on being informed, approved of this device for extortion !*

After long entreaties and through the mediation of Shaista Khan and Muhammad Sultan, the Queen-Mother of Golkonda was allowed to visit Aurangzib's tent and personally entreat him to spare her son. Aurangzib agreed to restore his kingdom on the payment of one *kroro* of rupees† as indemnity and arrears of tribute, and the marriage of his daughter with the Mughal Prince. But evidently Qutb-ul-mulk objected

* Waris, 111b. Aurangzib wrote to Mir Jumla (early in March) "Qutb-ul-mulk is now craving pardon, sending his son-in-law Mir Ahmad to me, and proposing that his mother would wait on me and that his daughter would be married to my son. But I wish to send him to the wilderness of destruction." *Adab*, 81a

† The amount demanded was 1½ krores (*Adab*, 138b) but subsequently 25 lakhs were abated.

to the amount as too large, and there was delay in making the final settlement. In this interval no formal truce was concluded, and a shot from the fort-guns killed Mir Asadullah Bukhari, the son of the Paymaster of Aurangzib's forces.* Mir Jumla, whose arrival had been eagerly looked forward to and impatiently hurried by Aurangzib, now reached Haidarabad and waited on the Prince on 20th March, a day chosen by the astrologers as lucky for a first visit.†

In the meantime, Abdullah's agent at the Court of Delhi had bought the intercession of Dara Shukoh and of the Princess Imperial Jahanaara. Through them he unfolded to the Emperor the true story of Aurangzib's manœuvring,—how Abdullah had been tricked and almost slain by treachery, how he had not been given a fair chance of carrying out the Emperor's orders, how the Imperial farmans had been withheld from him, how Shah Jahan's kind intentions towards the suppliant ruler had been thwarted, and how an entirely false version of the whole affair had been given in the despatches of Aurangzib. At this

Shah Jahan,
angry at Aurang-
zib's trickery,

Shah Jahan's righteous indignation boiled over. He wrote a sharp letter of censure to Aurangzib, with orders to raise the

* Waris, 111b and 112a, Tavernier, i. 167.

† Adab, 81b, Waris, 112a.